

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
O. F
LEWIS the XIIIth.

King of France and Navarr.

Tome Second.

Part Second.

CONTAINING

The most remarkable Transactions in
France and Europe, since the Meeting of the
States General to the Kings Marriage.

By Monsieur VASSOR.

*Rara Temporum felicitate, ubi sentire que velis,
& qua sentias dicere licet, Cornel. Tacit. Hist.
Lib. I.*

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ЗИТ
УЯОТАИ

ЗИТ ЧО

УЕДИЯ

ПИХОДЫ

King of France and Navarre

Times & Country

Part Second

CONTINUING

the History of the French Revolution, from its
earliest origin to the present time, with
all the most interesting events, and
the principal characters, in a clear and
entertaining style.

УЧЕБНАЯ ВЫПУСКНАЯ

Приложение к книге "Учебная выпускная"
Описание и описание Годичного Торжества

1811

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~~Hand Redacted~~
No 27

To THE Agnew
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Navarr.

BOOK VIII.

Whilst Lewis was at Bordeaux, 1615, the Chevalier de Vendome, his natural Brother, was ordered to go from Malba to Rome, as Extraordinary Ambassador, to make to Paul the V. the usual Proccessions of

what we call *Filial Obedience*. This
is a summons which the Queen had long
before designed for the Chevalier, was
only a colourable pretence to keep him at
Malthe and *Rome*, during the troubles
and broils of the preceding year, as
well as this; fearing lest he should be
drawn into the Party of the Prince of
Conde, by the Duke of *Vendome* his Brother,
who continued still a Malecontent.
This expression of *Filial Obedience* has
made a great noise in *France*, and deserves
a little to be taken notice of. The De-
fenders of the Liberties of the *Gallican*
Church, say, that it was brought in to
signify, that the Homage which the King
is pleased to pay unto a Bishop, hereto-
fore a Subject of *Charlemain*, and some
of his Successors, is not an Homage that
is paid from a Vassal to a Sovereign, but
only a Duty which the Eldest Son of the
Church is willing to pay to the Common
Father of all the Faithful.

'Tis true, the Kings of *France* are not
Vassals to the *See of Rome*, and the
Popes do not pretend they are so; but
since those Kings have submitted them-
selves to pay this *Filial Obedience* to the
Pope, either by their Ambassadors, or some-
times, as *Charles VIII.* did at *Rome*, and
Francis the first, at *Marseilles*, in the in-
terview he had with *Clement VII.* have
they not owned, and do they not still ac-
knowledge the Pope for the true *Vicar of*
Jesus Christ. It is in this quality that
the

Preuves des
Libertez de
l'Eglise Gal-
licane, Ch. 2.

B. 3.



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1625

the most Christian King promises him *Respect and Obedience*, and offers him his Person and Dominions for the defence of the Rights of the *Holy See*. I do not know whether *Lewis XI.* did not reason better than our other Kings of *France*, when he ordered the *Cardinal d'Albi*, his Ambassador, to tell Pope *Pius II* upon the like occasion, that *his Holiness had right to command in France, and exercise therein an absolute Power*. I know the *States General*, assembled at *Tours*, in the Reign of *Charles VIII.* complained of what his Father had done in that case, but had they any true cause upon the whole to do so? For who-soever owns a *Man for the true Vicar of Jesus Christ*, ought blindly to obey his Commands, at least in whatsoever concerns Religion, the Policy and Administration of the Goods belonging to the Church; and I can see no *medium* in this case.

Ought not the Kings of *France* to free themselves from a slavery, which the stupid and gross superstition of some Princes hath imposed on their more discerning Successors? and the more rather, because this custom has not been of very long standing? For if it be alledged, that Sovereigns have formerly written Letters of Compliment to the Pope, after their Accession to the Crown, it may be proved also, that the Popes have written to them, after their Election, and hath likewise sent them their *Profession of Faith*.

1615

Faith. All that the *most Christian King* does at present, is nothing else but a meer Farce. He promises to obey the *Vicar of Jesus Christ*, as a dutiful Son obeys his Father; but it is upon this condition, that the Pope shall command him nothing, which may clash with his Majesties Interest or Inclinations. However, the Court of *Rome* find their account in this ridiculous piece of Pageantry: For besides, that these great and frequent Embassies bring Money into their Coffers, the Pope sitting on the Throne, assisted by his Cardinals, and surrounded by the Princes and Great Lords, that are then waiting upon him, receives a kind of personal homage from Crowned Heads. The most sensible part of Mankind look upon this only as a meer ceremony, or Theatrical gaudy shew, which is made use of upon certain occasions, and varied according to the juncture of affairs, or the circumstance of persons; but the Common People, and what we call the Mob, being dazzled by the outward Pomp which attends that solemnity, are persuaded, that they cannot have too great a Veneration for a Man, to whom Sovereign Princes make such awful Submissions. The Chevalier *de Vendome* appeared at *Rome* with an Extraordinary magnificence, and received from the Pope great honours and Respects; and to make him amends, or compensation for the great charges he had been at, he had given him

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him a Picture of Devotion, and a pair of Beads. This rich present was accompanied with an infinite number of Indulgences, but the young Ambassador did not seem to value these favours over extraordinarily.

The pleasure which the noble Embas-
sy of *France* caused in the Court of *Rome*,
was inlaid with some disturbance; for
the Pope did plainly perceive, that the
Peace of *Italy* was but indifferently esta-
blished, and had apprehensions, that the
new Gouvernour of the *Milancze*, who
was appointed to succeed the Marquis of
Inojosa, would refuse so soon as the affair
of the double Marriage should be con-
cluded, to execute the Treaty of *Ais*, be-
cause it was dishonourable to the Crown
of *Spain*. The *Italians*, whose penetra-
tion generally reaches pretty far, forelaw
that the Court of *Madrid* would not
very much value the Threats of the Court
of *France*, which was full of persons de-
voted to the Interest of *Philip*, and in-
gag'd in great Broils and a Civil War to
boot, which occasioning them to employ
their Forces at home, they were thereby
prevented from making use of them a-
broad for executing a Treaty, of which
the *most Christian King* had made himself
Guarantee, after he had been the chief
Mediator in it. The Duke of *Savoy* on
the other hand, did not much trouble
himself about performing the Articles
of the said Treaty: for the adyan-

Mercure
Francois
1615.

*The State of
affairs in
Italy, since
the Treaty of
Ais between
the King of
Spain, and
the Duke of
Savoy.*

The History of Book VIII.

tages he had gain'd over the *Spanish* Pride, and being full of new *Chymera's*, which his quick and fruitful fancy was forming to himself every day, *Charles Emanuel* could not resolve yet to sit down in quiet.

Tis thought the Republick of *Venice* being taken up in an open War with *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, Arch-Duke of *Gratz* in *Stiria*, endeavoured underhand to perfwade the Duke of *Savoy* not to yield any thing to *Spain*, that by that means the *Spaniards* being ingaged in a War against him, they might not be in a condition to attack their Republick on the side of *Italy*, and by such a diversion, to assist Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, who was joined in a strict Union with the *Catholic* King. Some Pyrates in the *Adriatick Sea*, called *Uscoues*, were the occasion of this *Venetian* quarrel with *Ferdinand*, and it began to make a great noise in several Courts of *Europe*; insomuch, that the Pope and some other Princes were consulting how to prevent the consequences of it; for they were afraid, that if the Republick did once engage in a War against the Arch-Duke, several Princes who were jealous of the greatness of the House of *Austria*, would Confederate with the *Venetians* against *Ferdinand*, whom the Emperor and the King of *Spain* would doubtless assist. Now since this quarrel, I say, occasioned great commotions in *Europe*, and that *France* con-

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conjunction with some other States endeavoured to compose it, I think my self obliged to relate the origine and progress thereof.

1615.

After the *Turks* had conquered a great part of *Sclavonia* and *Dalmatia*, some Inhabitants of those Provinces, being unable to live under the Tyrannical Government of the Infidels, betook themselves to the Mountains to live there at Liberty. The Emperor *Ferdinand I.* received them afterwards into the Town of *Segna*, and some other places amongst the Rocks, which are all along the Sea Coast from *Istria* to *Dalmatia*. This was a dependency upon the Kingdom of *Hungary*; but afterwards made part of the portion of the Arch-Dukes of *Gratz* in *Stiria*. This new Colony was obliged to defend against the Invasion of the *Turks*, those places whose advantageous situation had made pretty strong. These new comers having united themselves with the old Inhabitants, and some Subjects of the Republick of *Venice*, that had been banished their Country, and come to shelter among them; and some others, who by reason of their Crimes or Poverty, had been forced to seek for a Sanctuary abroad, they took upon them the Trade of Pyrateering upon the *Turks*. They were called *Uscoues* from a *Sclavonian* word, which signifies *Fugitives*. These People so much accustomed themselves to live upon Robberies and Pyraticies, that notwithstanding the

*The beginning
of the quarrel
between the
Venetians
and Arch-
Duke Ferdi-
nand occa-
sioned by the
Uscoues.*

*Nani His-
toris Veneta.
Lib. 1.*

The History of Book VIII.

Peace that had been made between the *Eastern* and *Western* Empires, they went on seizing all Ships indifferently, both *Turkish* and *Venetians*, that they could meet with in the *Adriatick Sea*.

The *Ottoman* Port being wearied with the continual complaints that were made by their Subjects against the *Uscoures*, threatened to send a Fleet to attack them in their Retreats, and to revenge themselves on the Republick of *Venice*, which the *Turks* were resolved to make answerable for all the Pyracies committed on that Sea, which she alone claims the Dominion of, and the Guard of which seemeth to be intrusted with her. The Senate endeavoured to pacify the Grand Signior, by representing to him, that they were as great sufferers as the *Turks* by those *Corsairs*; and on the other hand, the *Venetians* with great earnestness presid the Emperor and the Arch-Duke to put a stop to the Robberies of the *Uscoures*. The Port, laid the Ambassadors of the Republick, will perhaps break the Peace with the Christians, under the specious pretence of the damages their Subjects sustain from these Fyrates. The Imperial Court, and the Princes of the House of *Austria*, promised to remedy those disorders, but their promises were soon forgotten, after the Senate had given over pressing them, either because the Ministers of those Princes protected the *Corsairs*, upon account of their being sharers in the booty,

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booty, or else because the Emperor and the Arch-Duke hating the *Venetians* for their being always upon the watch, for crossing the vast Projects of the House of *Austria*, were very glad that the *Turks* had a pretence of falling upon the Republick. The *Venetians* being weary with those delays, were obliged to set out a Fleet against the *Uscoues*, but they met with very little success; for their great Ships drawing too much water, could not come near *Segna*, where the Pyrates chiefly retired, and therefore they could only block up the Harbour, and so hinder them from coming out. The *Uscoues* being enraged at the severities of the *Venetians* upon some of their Fellow-Citizens, who had fallen into their hands, they revenged themselves upon them by making Inroads into their Territories in *Austria*; whereupon the *Venetians* pretended to do the like by making an Irruption into the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, and actually did enter into some parts, hoping thereby to oblige the Emperor and the Archduke to stand to their word, which they had more than once given to the Senate.

Baron *Rabata* was ordered to go to those places, to stop the Ravages of the *Uscoues*, and to punish the most guilty of them; but they being a People incapable of any discipline, rose up in Rebellion against him, and murdered the Imperial Commissioner.

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This Crime remaining unpunished, increased the Insolence of the Pyrates; whereupon the Emperor sent more than once the General of *Croatia* to *Segna*. But the *Uscoues* were so dexterous in bribing the chief Officers, that by giving them a share of their Prizes at Sea, they easily obtained a sort of tacit permission to continue their Pyracies. Such a base connivance as this forced the *Cheerians* to resolve upon besieging *Segna* in form, and at once drive out the *Uscoues* from all the places they had on that Coast. This Siege being very incommodious to the Subjects of the House of *Austria*, the Emperor was resolved to put an end to this Affair by a Treaty with that Republick. The Vice-chancellor of the Empire, and the Ambassador of *Venice* met at *Vienna*, and agreed upon certain Articles; but they were not punctually observed by the Arch-Duke. The German Garrison which was put into *Segna*, to keep the *Uscoues* in awe, being but ill paid, the Souldiers disbanded themselves, the driven out Pyrates returned, and the *Uscoues* made more prizes, both on the *Turks* and *Venetians* than ever they had done before. In the year 1612 they took a *Venetian* Galley, and barbarously murthered the Captain and all the Officers. The Senate being informed of this Inhumanity, it caused so great an indignation, that it was proposed among them, to declare War against the Arch-Duke, and it would have passed

by

by a great majority of voices, if some Senators, more moderate than the rest, had not wisely interposed, and represented to them, that a War ought not to be undertaken without very mature deliberation; because of the great consequences it might bring along with it. The state of affairs in *Italy*, which grew more and more perplexed, by reason of the differences between the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, was another great motive for inducing the Senate to suspend their resentment, and they were too much already concerned in general affairs, to be diverted by any other from watching the motions of the *Spaniards*, who seem'd to seek for new pretences to enlarge their Dominions in *Italy*. They therefore only resolved at present to block up the Town of *Segna* more closely on that side towards the Sea.

In the year 1614. the *Uscques* made an irruption into the Country belonging to the *Venetians*, and committed great Ravages there; whereupon *Venier*, General of the Republick in *Albania*, by way of Repri-
tal entered the Territories belonging to the House of *Austria*, because the Senate had reasons sufficient to convince them that Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* supported and encouraged the *Uscques*; and this was the beginning of an open War between that Prince and the Republick. The Emperor endeavoured to prevent the consequences of it, and to that end or-

*Open War
between the
Venetians
and Ferdi-
nand, A.¹
duke of
Gratz*

1615.

Nani Historia Veneta
lib. 11.
1615.

Manifeste de
la Repub-
lique de Ve-
nise dans le
Menage
Francois.
1617.

dered the General of *Croatia* to repair to *Segna*, and give some satisfaction to the *Venetians*; but the Arch-Duke having no such upright intentions, started every day new obstacles to the conclusion of the agreement; which still further confirmed the Jealousies of the Senate, that the *Spaniards* and *Ferdinand* had concert-ed together to engage the *Venetians* in a War with the *Uscouyes*, and, by that means to prevent their interessing them-selves so much in the affairs of *Italy*, which continued still in confusion, notwithstanding the Treaty made with the Duke of *Savoy*. The General of the *Venetians* having in the year 1615 surpriz'd a little Town called *Novi*, wherein the *Uscouyes* had put the Cannon which they had taken out of a Galley of the Repub-lick, *Ferdinand* look'd upon that Action as an open rupture, and thereupon made preparations for War. The Pope and joine other Princes exhorted both parties to Peace, and the Republick were wil-ling to consent to it upon reasonable con-ditions, but the Arch-Duke plainly sought out trifling excuses and evasions. In the mean time the Hostilities con-tinued, and the *Venetians* had the advan-tage of taking up their Winter quarters in *Ferdinand's* Country. 'Tis not easy to express what satisfaction this Breach between the *Venetians* and *Ferdinand* gave to the Duke of *Savoy*, and what projects came into his head upon this

happy

happy occasion of concluding a strict Alliance with the *Venetians*, by means of these troubles. He immediately offer'd them his Troops, and whatever depended on him; but tho his civility met with a very kind reception, yet the Senate, who was not used to go on with such mighty precipitation, did not think fit so presently to close with all the desires of *Charles Emanuel*. They contented themselves with cunningly complimenting his Highness on his Resolution not to give up any thing to the new Governour of *Milan*; who pretended that he was not obliged to perform what his Predecessor had promised. But the World was then more surpriz'd, to see the Ambassador of *England*, to propose from the King his Master, a League between him and the Republick of *Venice*, against the House of *Austria*, an offer of his Ships, and a powerful Succour in *Italy*; but as the Senate understood very well the Character of K. *James I.* they thanked him with as much civility as possibly they could; but though at the same time they could not rely on the promises of a Prince, who could patiently suffer the Arch-Dukes of the *Netherlands*, in sight of *England*, to take possession, either for themselves or the Duke of *Neubourg* their new Ally, of a great part of the Succession of *Cleeves* and *Juliers*. Had it not been more for the advantage for King of *James*, to have helped the Prince of *Conde*, who had de-

1615. fired his assistance, for preventing the double marriage between France and Spain, than to propose a League against the House of *Austria*, with a Republick so very remote from *England*?

*The disgrace
of the Earl of
Somerset in
England.*

The face of the Court of *England* began to suffer a great alteration by the fall of *Robert Carr*, Earl of *Somerset*, and the Rise of *George Villiers*, who afterwards made so great a noise under the name of Duke of *Buckingham*: Queen *Ann* had an extream aversion to *Somerset*, the Favourite of the King her Husband, either because she could not endure the Pride of that Earl, whom his Majesty had raised to the Dignity of Chamberlain of his Household, or else from an I know not what caprice of jealousy, because she lookt upon him as a Rival, that took away from her a great share of the affection and careles of King *James*.

*Wilson's Hi-
story of Great
Britain 1614
1615.*

It may be likewise (as was then believed) that the Reports which were spread abroad, and perhaps not altogether unjustly, that *Somerset* had caused *Henry*, Prince of *Wales* to be poisoned, contributed very much to the Resolution the Queen took of putting her self at the Head of a powerful Faction, which was formed at Court against the Chamberlain.

Whatever it was, Queen *Ann* did very dexterously improve the dissatisfaction which *Winwood*, who had been made Secretary

cretary of State after his return from his Embassy to the *Hayme*, expressed against the Chamberlain, in that he was (to speak properly) his chief Clerk. *Somerset* had the vanity to take upon him the Functions of all the Chief Offices in the Government, leaving only the Title and Salaries to those who had given most for the purchase of his Favour and Recommendation to the King, which is a fault the Favourites of Princes are often guilty of, and is commonly the effect of their Avarice and Ambition. They are so blind, that they do not consider, that by selling the first Places, and not suffering those that buy them to discharge their respective duties in them, instead of Friends, they make them secret and dangerous Enemies, who will be striving to cast off the Yoke which is thus imposed upon them, and revenge themselves of the covetous Favourite, that in the choice he made of them for filling up such and such Honourable Posts, had more regard to their Money, than for their Services, or Personal Merit, of which the most unqualify'd thinks himself as sufficiently stored as the best of them.

Winwood, and other Courtiers that hated *Somerset*, being encouraged by the Queen, began to talk freely against a man, that grew every day more proud and intolerable to the rest of the World; and the kindness which King *Jameſ* had lately discovered for *George Villiers*, was another

1615.

another great encouragement for their so doing. This young Gentleman was very graceful in his Person, and endowed with all the other qualities that were thought necessary to captivate the Heart of the King. He was but a younger Son of his Family, and all that he had to support himself, was but fifty pounds a year; so mean a Patrimony as that not being sufficient to satisfy his natural Ambition, he came up to Court, with a design to make his Fortune there. The King had no sooner seen him, but was so pleased with him, that he resolved to have him near his Person, and make him his Favourite; but he dissembled his Inclination at the first; perhaps for fear lest he should be suspected of Inconstancy, and as one subject to be disgusted with his Favourites, as a Gallant is with his first Mistress, whom he quits so soon as ever he finds a new one that appears in his Eyes more Beautiful and Charming than the former. Perhaps too the King might be afraid of giving some jealousy to the Chamberlain, who to be like would have left no Stone unturned to remove from Court a Rival younger and more comely than himself. However, King *James* could not so well conceal his Inclination for *Villiers*, but that Courtiers, who are always watching the Glances, the Smiles, and every Motion of their Princes, were soon sensible of it; and from thence they conjectured,

1615.1616.

that

that *Villiers* would quickly rise upon the ruins of *Carr*, and his Enemies improved this opportunity with all the address and cunning imaginable.

Somerset was accused of having embezzled the Jewels of the Crown; but yet that was less disturbing to him, than the checks of his Conscience, occasioned by the death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, his good Friend. He had caused him to be poisoned, at the instigation of the lewd and revengeful Countess of *Essex*, whom *Carr* marry'd against the advice of *Overbury*. Being sensible that his Interest declined every day, and that his Enemies would one time or other discover a Crime, wherein he had had several Accomplices, he thought the safest way he had to take was, to make use of all the Credit he had left with the King, to obtain an Act for whatever he had done amiss, since his entering upon the administration of Publick Affairs, which is in *England* called a *General Pardon*. *Somerset* therefore applied himself to the King, and represented to him, that being young and without experience, he had exercised the most important Dignities in the State, with which his Majesty had been pleased to honour him; and that as he might have, either through surprize or imprudence, done some things contrary to Law, of which perhaps his Enemies would be glad to take advantage to his ruin, *I presume to hope*, said he, *Sir*,

*Historical
Narration of
the first four-
teen years of
King James.*
ch. 18, 19.
26, 28, 32.
34.

1615.

that your Majesty will be pleased to grant me your most Gracious Pardon, to protect me against the Envy and Malice of my Enemies, who begin to put sinister interpretations upon my most innocent Actions.

King James willingly Signed Somerset's Pardon, and thought he could not handsomely deny that Consolation to a Favourite, whose approaching disgrace he knew would be a most sensible mortification to him.

The Pardon was larger and more general than any one that had been granted before; but when the Queen was informed that the Pardon was gone to pass the Broad Seal, she endeavoured to frighten Chancellour Elsemere from it, and some persons went from her Majesty, to represent to him the danger he exposed himself to by sealing such a Pardon, as the Chamberlain had got drawn up in his favour; and that the Parliament would certainly call him to account for it. The King therein forgave Somerset, not only the Faults which he might have already committed, but also such as he should afterwards be guilty of, which was in effect to give him a Liberty to violate all Laws with impunity; a Prerogative which the Kings themselves have not: For such is the good constitution of the Government of England, that the Ministers and Great Officers of State there are answerable to the Nation for the ill Councils they give the

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1615.

King, and are severely punished, whenever convicted of having betrayed the Interests of their Country, by a base compliance with their Prince. The Chancellour and other Great Ministers do expose themselves to the just Resentments and Examinations of the Parliament, and are prosecuted for executing the King's Commands, when they are found contrary to the Law of the Land. The like was formerly practised in *France*, and if that Kingdom had been as jealous of their Liberties as *England*, as careful of preserving their good and ancient Laws, the *Richelieus*, *Mazarines*, *Telliers*, *Colberts*, and divers others would never have been so bold as to be the advisers and instruments of that Arbitrary Power, which has been since unjustly established in *France*. They would have been restrained by the fears of a severe enquiry into their Actions, and of the punishments which attended such as were sound Enemies to the publick Weal of the Nation; and would have followed the Example of the *English* *Chancellour*, *Elsemere*. That Minister waited for the King's return to *London*, to represent to his Majesty that he could not put the Great Seal to that Pardon, without exposing himself to a manifest danger of being utterly undone, as well as *Somerset*.

This refusal of the Chancellour, augmented the uneasiness and the disorders

of

Archbishop
Abbot his
Narrative,
Part II. in
Rushworth's
Collections.
P. 460, 461.

of the Chamberlain. King *James* could no longer conceal his affection for *Villiers*, and the Queen had openly declared in his favour. The King, who was sensible of the jealousy and disquiet which his Favourites generally gave the Queen, shewed so much deference for her, as to take none, but such who were recommended by her Majesty, and he managed that point with so much cunning and dexterity, that Queen *Ann* never failed to recommend such whom the King intended to raise above all the rest of his Court. This Artifice was of great use to the King, whenever he had occasion, (which was pretty often) to answer to the Complaints the Queen made him, of the Pride or ill Conduct of any Favourite. *Blame your self, Madam*, answered his Majesty, *it was upon your Recommendation that I advanced such a one to that Place*. Now the same stratagem was made use of to bring *Villiers* upon the Stage; and some Lords were privately appointed by the King, to represent to this good Spouse, who was already incensed against *Somerset*, that she might soon be rid of him, if her Majesty would please to support a young Gentleman, whom the King began to look upon with a gracious Eye. The Queen was so dissatisfied with all the Favourites the King had had, both in *England* and *Scotland*, that tho' she most vehemently desired the removal of *Carr*, yet she would not hear them.

them speak of giving him a Successor. They, finding the Queen inflexible as to this point, they pressed the Archbishop of Canterbury to try what he could do to persuade her to it; but she replied, *My Lord, said Queen Ann to the Prelate, neither you nor your Friends do know what you desire. I know your Master better than you all. If Villiers gets once into his Favour, those who shall have most contributed to his preferment, will be the first sufferers by him. I shall be no more spared than the rest. The King will teach him himself to despise us, and to treat us with Pride and Scorn. The young proud Favourite will fancy, that he is obliged to no body for his preferment but his own merit.*

Notwithstanding this answer, the Enemies of *Somerset* were perpetually remonstrating to the Queen, that his Majesty not being able to live without a Favourite, *Villiers* would be still more tolerable than *Carr*. They at last prevailed with the Queen to speak to the King in behalf of this new comer; and the dissembling Prince made as if he only condescended to her Majesty's desire. *Villiers* was called into the Queen's Chamber, and the King taking the Sword which the Prince of *Wales* had by his side, Knighted him with the usual Ceremonies. The Court immediately talked of the new Knight's being advanced to a more considerable Post; for he was then but Cup-bearer to the King.

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1615. But not long after King *James* proposed to make him a Groom of the Bed-Chamber. *Somerset* perceiving that his Enemies had a mind to turn him out, as soon as they could handsomely, represented to the King, that a young Gentleman, who was but newly come to Court, ought to be satisfied with that Employment; whereupon his Majesty seemed to approve of the advice of the Chamberlain. This made the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Lords, who were *Somerset's* Enemies, very uneasy; for they were then waiting at the door of the King's Chamber. They presently sent to the Queen, to desire her to come and compleat what she had so happily begun. So soon as she had spoke a second time in behalf of *Villiers*, the King yielded, and he was made Groom of the Bed-Chamber, and took his Oath accordingly. 'Tis hardly credible, that *Somerset* should have then so much Interest with his Master, as to prevent the Honour which he designed to confer upon *Villiers*, therefore it seems more natural to believe, that this was a new Artifice of King *James*, that his Favourite might appear indebted to the Queen for a preferment, which his Royal Master most passionately longed to bestow upon him.

To compleat the ruin of *Carr*, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, one of the Secretaries of State, found some Papers, which plainly dif-

discovered that Sir *Thomas Overbury* had been poisoned in the *Tower of London*, to which place he had been committed some time before by his Majesty. *Winwood* having made his Report to the King, of what he had found out concerning this villainous Action, his Majesty, struck with the blackness of the Crime, sent for the Judges, and commanded them to search into the bottom of this hellish villainy with all the care imaginable, making Imprecations against both them and their Posterity, if they did not discharge their duty herein. 'Tis said likewise he added, that he wished the curse of God might light upon him and his Children, if ever he did spare any person who had been concerned in so wicked a murther. The King went afterwards to divert himself in the Country, attended by the Chamberlain, who was not as yet openly accused; but he heard soon after that it was publickly reported in *London*, that he and his Lady had employed those who had poisoned Sir *Thomas Overbury*. He thought that by returning quickly to Town, he might find out some way or other, either to suppress that Rumour by his presence, or to corrupt the Witnesses, and bribe off the Judges. *Somerset* therefore went and took his leave of the King, and as some accounts have it, his Majesty kissed him several times, and embraced him with all the seeming tendernets imaginable, de-

iring

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iring him to come back as soon as possibly he could ; adding withal, that *he could not live without him* ; tho no sooner was *Somerset* got out of his presence, but he began to smile, and said aloud, *I will never see thy Face more.* What a Comedy is this ! Good God ! Are Princes, whose Birth and high Station ought to inspire them with noble and sincere sentiments ; I say, are Princes capable of such a baseness ; nay, to give it its right name, of so black a perfidiousness ?

When *Somerset* came to *London*, he found his Wife already taken up, as he was within a few hours after ; and the following year they were tryed, and sentenced to death ; but the King pardoned them, notwithstanding the curse he had pronounced against himself and his Children. *Carr* being thus utterly cast out of the King's favour, the Fortune of *Sir George Villiers* met with no manner of opposition, but it advanced with so great a rapidity, that in one years time he was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and made Master of the Horse to the Queen, and one of his Majestys Privy Council. 'Tis owned now by the *English*, that *Buckingham* had a greater personal merit than any of the Favourites of their Kings, and made a better use of his great Fortune. If the Charming Gracefulness of his Countenance, the Excellent Shape of his Body, and his Obliging Deportment, were of service

to

*The Fortune
of George
Villiers, in
England.*

*Discourse upon
Grants and
Resumptions.
Sect 4. Page
365.*

to him at the first, to bring himself into the favour of King *James*, he shewed afterwards that he did not want those qualities of the mind, and that great genius and good sense, that is necessary for a man advanced to so high a Station. He had the good fortune to be beloved by an Adress peculiar to him, both by the Father and Son, and his Credit was even greater in the Reign of King *Charles I.* than in that of King *James*. He seemed to be more formed for a Court than a Camp; for, tho' Brave in his Person, he was unsuccessful in his Military Enterprizes. He took a great delight to oblige the greatest Families in *England*, and often procured for Noblemen, what he might have very honestly kept to himself. His Liberality was attended with choice, and an admirable discretion, and would fetch Men of Merit from their most secret Retirements, and went himself to seek them out, that so he might do them good. He carried himself sternly to his Enemies, but he was very easie and full of humanity to all others, and sought to oblige every one that applied himself to him. This Favourite had his Privy Council as well as the King, and out of his own Purse, by considerable Pensions, he retained in his service, a great number of able men, that were not engaged in Publick Affairs, and did nothing but by their advice, not only in relation to his Domestick Affairs, but

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*Dr. Wel-
wood's Me-
moirs, P. 90,
91 of the 3d
Edition.*

1615. likewise in those that concerned the Government of the State.

Vie De M.
Du Plessis
Mornay 1. 3.
Lettres &
Memoires of
the same,
1614, 1615.
The King of
England's
Project to re-
unite the Pro-
testants.

King *James* was not, however, so much taken up with his new Favourite, as quite to give over his Divinity. He formed a Project for endeavouring the Re-union of the Protestants, that were divided among themselves, only about some points which were no ways essential to the Christian Religion, and which allow them to tolerate each other in Charity. This was a design worthy of a Christian and Religious Prince; but it was not enough to contrive that Project, nor even to make some steps towards the execution of it; for to what purpose should a man undertake a glorious thing, if he may be disgusted by the least obstruction, and if he will turn his thoughts a quite contrary way upon the first opportunity he meets with of gratifying his Passions? Such was the Genius of *James* I. the fatal Divisions which the Disputes on *Grace* and *Predestination* occasioned in *Holland*, and some other of the *United Provinces*, were likely the Motives which made the King of *England* think of re-uniting the Protestants, who could not but be weakened by their division in a Country, the Conquest of which the *Spaniards* had not yet given over; and since that Prince loved so much to play the Divine, sure that design was more becoming his Royal Dignity, than to scuffle with *Du Perron* and *Bel-*

Bellarmino. 'Tis true, he very seldom took the right side, or else slightly forsook it, whenever he had taken it; and so instead of applying himself to pacify the troubles in the *United Netherlands*, he increased them, out of a design to be revenged of *Barneveld*, whom he hated.

His Majesty of *Great Britain* had written the year before to the National Synod of the Reformed Churches of *France* assembled at *Tonneins*, concerning some differences between *Du Moulin* and *Tilenius*, about the Mystery of the Incarnation, and at the same time that Assembly was presented with a Project of Reunion from that Prince, wherein he exhorted the *French Divines*, and other good Men of that Nation, to consider of the best way for putting that noble design in execution. The good intentions of King *James* were mightily applauded, and the Synod resolved to take the best measures they could think of at their next National Assembly, for bringing the same to a good effect. Some Princes of *Germany*, and the States General of the *United Netherlands*, accepted also the King's Proposal with great satisfaction, which gave him such Encouragements, that he invited *Du Moulin* into *England*, to spend that year in conferring with him, on the fittest measures for executing his Project. *Du Plessis Mornay*, always zealous for his Religion, embraced with all his Soul this favourable

1645. opportunity of removing the greatest oblique to the establishment of Truth, and therefore wrote a Circular Letter to all the Reformed Churches in *France*, exhorting the Provincial Synods to prepare something on that Subject, which was to be taken into consideration in the next National Assembly. The *French* Churches returned thanks to God Almighty, for having put so good a design into the heart of the King of *Great Britain*, and *Du Plessis* was desired to joyn therein with his Majesty. The good name and great reputation, which that Gentleman had gained among all the Protestants, by his Prudence, Capacity, and Moderation, rendered him fitter than any body else, for managing an affair of so nice a nature.

Du Moulin continued three months in *England*, and then returning into *France*, King *James* gave him a Letter for *Du Plessis Mornay*, wherein his Majesty thanked him for the pains and care he had already taken ; desired him to continue the same, and asked him his good advices. *Du Moulin* being exceedingly pleased with the glorious distinction that had been put upon him by a great King, drew up a Project of Re-union, in which, tho he affected a great moderation, yet he followed too much the common method of Divines, who for the most part do erect their private opinions into so many Articles of Faith. The *English* Ambassador

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dor then in *France*, foresaw from it, that his Master would be at great pains to no purpose. *Boetsellaer*, Baron of *Langerack* Ambassador of the States General to the *French King*, writ on that Subject to his Friend *Grotius*, and that Great Man answered in plain terms, that in his opinion the *French Divines* were not very fit for seconding the good intentions of the King of *Great Britain*. And *Grotius* thought that they had not respect enough for the practices of the Ancient Church, and that their Prejudice against some things, wisely retained by the Church of *England*, would prove an insuperable obstacle. *I am very glad*, says he, *to find Monsieur Du Moulin so moderate about Episcopacy and Confirmation, but he is not ignorant that many of his Brethren speak of these two things, as of the Invention of the Devil, and the Mark of the Beast. Men of this Temper will not further a Reunion.* King *James's* Project went no further, and he had other things to employ his thoughts about. Strange misfortune attending the Reformation, every body cries that we ought to re-unite; but who can apply himself to so great and pious a work? Princes? They are so taken up with their Pleasures, or Political Affairs, that they neglect those that concern Religion. Divines? But they are fitter to keep up and foment Divisions than to remove them. They are indeed the most pacifick men in the

Grotii Ep. 62. Gideoni Boetsellaer.
1615.

1615. world, provided they are hearkened to as Oracles; and that their Prejudices and Speculations be received as Articles of Faith.

*The difference
between the
City of Brun-
swick and its
Duke in Ger-
many.*

The King of *England* had better success in his Mediation for preventing the War, which the Siege laid before the City of *Brunswick*, was kindling in *Germany*. That Affair was of the highest importance, and had not the same been speedily made up, by the sollicitation of *England* and *Denmark*, it would have occasioned a fatal Division among the Protestants. The City of *Brunswick* confederated with the other *Hans Towns*, and consequently with the *States General*, had some pretensions, which were denied by the Duke of that name. The controversy had lasted a great while; but Duke *Frederick Ulric* prosecuted that Affair with so much heat and advantage to the Court of *Vienna*, that that City was put to the *Ban* of the Empire.

Left the execution of the Emperor's Order or Confiscation should be attended with fatal consequences, the Parties were invited to compose their difference in a friendly way. The Duke and the *Hans Towns* send their Deputies to *Hanover*, with a full Power to end that Affair upon reasonable Conditions. The Magistrates of *Brunswick* consented to indemnify their Prince of certain Duties he pretended upon the Poundage of Merchandise, and to give him in lieu thereof,

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thereof, Money to build him a new Palace, and to open to him both by day and by night their City Gates, provided the Keys might remain in the Custody of the Magistrates. *Frederick* readily accepted these terms; but there was one thing he insisted on, and that was, to have the Key at least of one of the Gates, that so he might go out and come in when he pleased, without having recourse at all times to the Magistrates: But the Inhabitants would by no means comply therewith, and protested, that they would rather expose themselves to the last extremities, than grant the Duke such a condition, as would enable him to put their Town under his subjection, and deprive them of all their Privileges, whenever the Caprice should take him. For what could hinder his Highness from bringing into the place, as many Souldiers as he should think necessary for the execution of his secret designs.

The Negotiation breaking off upon this refusal, *Frederick* presently besieged *Brunswick* with an Army of five and twenty thousand men, provided with a good Artillery, and all sorts of Ammunition; but the Inhabitants defended themselves with an unspeakable Bravery, and there happened many gallant Actions on both sides. The King of *Denmark*, who was Uncle to *Frederick*, having the curiosity to see this Siege,

*The Siege of
Brunswick.*

when he came, found the Prince's Army so considerably weakened, that he thought he could never succeed in that Enterprize. He therefore advised him to put an end to that Affair, by some amicable accommodation, offering at the same time, his Mediation with the Magistrates of the Town. These desired in the first place a Truce, that so they might have time to consult the other *Hans Towns* in Confederacy with them; but the Duke would not be out-witted by them. It needed no great penetration to perceive that this Truce was only a pretence to gain time; for it was well known that the Count *de Solms* was drawing together a powerful Army, which the *States General* and the *Hans Towns* were sending to their assistance. This obliged *Frederick* to carry on the Siege with all the vigour he could, and made some progress in it, notwithstanding all the Bravery of the Inhabitants. *Maurice*, Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Elector of *Saxony* joyned their Mediation with the King of *Denmark's*, and made some new Proposals of Peace. But all was still in vain.

*An agree-
ment between
the Duke and
the Town.*

In the mean time the Count *de Solms* got into the Place with part of his Troops he brought with him; for he lost a great many men by forcing his way into the same. This reinforcement mightily revived the hopes of the besieged, and so disheartned the Duke's Army, which diminished

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minished every day, that the entrance into the Town was free in a few days, on the side of *Lunenburg*, so that by that means the Prince was obliged to raise the Siege, after he had lost before it twelve thousand men. The King of *Denmark*, and some other Princes were of great service to him for covering his Honour, having obliged the Magistrates of *Brunswick* to promise, that they would send their Deputies to a Conference, which they proposed with a design to bring them to terms of Peace. The pressing instances of the King of *Great Britain*, to the Elector *Palatine*, and to the States General of the *United Provinces*, contributed very much to the disposing of minds to an accommodation, which was afterwards signed towards the latter end of this year. They agreed upon such Articles, as were necessary for putting an end to the Hostilities and Misunderstandings between the Duke and the Town; and the less important points concerning their respective Pretensions, were referred to the Imperial Chamber, or to the decisions of such Arbitrators, as both Parties should agree upon.

The pretence of sending Succours to *The States General* secureing the march of an Army of six thousand Foot and some Horse, which the States General were sending towards *Westphalia*, under the Command of the Brave Prince *Frederick Henry* of *Nassau*,

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saw, Brother to their renowned Captain General, Maurice Prince of Orange. Instead of marching further into Westphalia, Henry stayed in the County of Ravenspurg, which was part of the Succession of the last Duke of Cleves and Juliers, and by taking possession of the most important places in that Country, and putting a good Garrison therein, the States General secured unto the House of Brandenburgh their Ally, the Counties of La Mark, and Ravenspurg. This step was of the last consequence; for had the Marquess Spinola entered these Countries first with the Spanish Forces which he commanded, he would have cut off all communication between the Electorate of Brandenburgh, and the Dutchies of Cleves and Juliers, and thereby hindred the Elector from sending any Troops thereto; so that the Duke of Newburgh, who was entirely devoted to the House of Austria, ever since his turning Roman Catholick, might have easily possessed himself of the whole Succession that was in controversy.

That Prince was so desirous to please the Pope, and the Court of Madrid, that his Father, Philip Palaine of Newburgh, being dead the year before, he forthwith caused the Reformation of the Kalendar by Pope Gregory to be published. This was a natural consequence of the re-establishing of the Romish Religion in the Dutchy of Newburgh, the exercise of

which

Mercure
Français
1615.

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which had never been permitted by *Philip*, who was all his life a zealous Protestant of the *Augsburg* Confession. If the Civil War in *France* did not cost so much Blood, as that of *Brunswick* did in *Germany*, it occasioned more Intrigues, Embarrassments and Negotiations in the Court, and States of the most Christian King; insomuch, that the *French* found it more difficult to agree among themselves, than the *Germans* had done. Notwithstanding the Count of *St Pol* had forsaken the Duke of *Rohan*, yet the Court was afraid that the Reformed in the Provence of *Guienne*, at whose head he was, would be strong enough to oppose, and prevent the Exchange of the two Princesses, which was to be made on the Frontiers of *France* and *Spain*, and therefore *Mary de Medicis* endeavoured to gain over the Duke of *Rohan* by great and advantageous promises, provided he would quit the Party of the *Malecontents*; but the Duke being angry for the contempt they had put upon him, answered without any disguise, that he would never break his word, when once he had given it. This was a reflection upon her Majesty, who had refused him the Survivorship of the Government of *Poitou*, notwithstanding her promise.

The Court was no sooner arrived at *Bordeaux*, but an Ensign in the Guards was sent to *Tonneins*, to ask in the Kings name the Duke of *Rohan*, the Marquis

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Francois
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Memoires de
Rohan. 1. 1.

de la Force, and others of the Reformed Religion, why they had taken up Arms; and what was their design in doing so? That Gentleman found them very busie in sending their Troops over the *Garonne* on the side of *Armagnac*, but he delivered his message. They would not at first give him any direct answer, but after some debates, they delivered in writing the reasons which obliged them to stand upon their Guard, and prepare themselves to repel the violence they were threatened with. *They have denied*, say they, *satisfaction to our General Assembly*. The Remonstrances of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Parliament of *Paris* have been rejected with scorn. They give out every where, even in their Sermons, that the double match with *Spain*, has been concluded, with a design to destroy all the Protestants. They judged by the report of the Ensign, that the Duke of *Rohan* having then but two thousand five hundred Foot, and three or four hundred Horse, his Forces would not be sufficient to oppose the passage of the Duke of *Guise*, who was appointed to conduct the young Prince of *Spain* to the Frontiers, and to bring the young Queen of *France* from thence to *Bourdeaux*. They resolved also from that time forward, to look upon the Duke of *Rohan* and his Adherents, as declared Enemies of the States, and to turn the Marquess *de la Force* out of his Government of *Bearn*, which

which obliged the latter to quit the Duke, to go and defend his own Province. Rohan had no intention to oppose the Duke of *Guise*, but in order to engage into his Party the Protestant Towns and Commonalties, and strictly to unite himself with the Assembly that were still sitting at *Nismes*, he possessed himself of *Leitonre*, the chief Town in the County of *Armagnac*, and some other places in *Guienne*. The two Courts of *France* and *Spain* had agreed, that the celebration of the two Marriages should be performed on one and the same day, which was *October 18*. one at *Bordeaux* in *Guienne*, and the other at *Burgos* in *Castille*. The Duke of *Lerma*, or the Duke of *Uceda* his Son, (for I find both named in different Authors) served as proxy, for the *French* King to marry the Infanta of *Spain*, in the name of his most Christian Majesty, and the Duke of *Guise* to marry Madam *Elizabeth* of *France*, in the name of the Prince of *Spain*. The Cardinal de *Sourdis*, Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, performed the Ceremonies in his Cathedral, and the Archbishop of *Burgos* did the like in his own; but I'll forbear the detail thereof, which tho' related in *Gazettes*, is not worthy being related in a serious History. The new Princess of *Spain* set out from *Bourdeaux* three days after, being attended by a small Army under the Command of the Duke of *Guise*, and

*The double
Marriage is
celebrated on
the same day,
both in
France and
Spain.*

*Siri Memo-
rie recondita.
Tom. iii. Pag.
391, 392.
Memoire de
M. de Siroc.
Tom. 1.
Mercure
Francois.
the
1615.*

the Mareschal de Brissac. She arrived at Bayonne, November 1. and on the 6th got as far as to *St Jean de Luz*; the King of *Spain* having conducted his Daughter as far as *Fontarabia*.

*The Exchange
of the two
Princesses.*

The two Princesses were exchanged on the River *Bidassoa*, which separates *France* from *Spain*; and all Formalities required on such occasions, scrupulously and nicely observed. The Dukes of *Guise* and *Uceda* were very jealous in all their proceedings, lest each of the Nations should get any advantage over the other. And therefore a most perfect equality was held on both sides, and he was looked upon as the most able man, who did not stir till the other had made some advances towards him. This nicety, which is very childish and ridiculous amongst private persons, is accounted of wonderful consequence and weight amongst Princes. *Luines*, who grew every day more and more in favour, was appointed to carry the Letters which *Lewis* and his Mother wrote, to the new Queen, to congratulate her happy arrival in the Kingdom. She made her entry into *Bordeaux*, the one and twentieth of November. Notwithstanding the King of *Spain* had conducted his Daughter as far as *Fontarabia*, yet he would not receive his Son's Wife till she came to *Burgos*: For the Spanish haughtiness would not permit *Philip* to pay one jot more of Honour and Respect to the

Prin-

Prince of France, than *Lewis* did to the 1615.
Infanta of Spain.

The Cardinal de *Sourdis* was preparing himself to give the second Nuptial Blessing to the two Princesses on the 25th of November, but there happened an unlucky accident the day before, which proved a great mortification to that Prelate, and obliged him immediately to retire out of the Town. The Bishop of *Kainctes*, first Suffragan of *Bordeaux*, performed that Ceremony, in the room of the Cardinal, whom the Parliament of *Guienne* prosecuted criminally, with the utmost severity, and it was upon this following account. The Sieur *Hautcassel*, a Gentleman of that Province, had been sentenced to death, and his Friends designed to get him away by force from the hands of Justice, before he should be brought to the place of Execution; but the Cardinal was more zealous and imprudent than the rest, considering his Age and Character; for he went out of his Palace, having the Archiepiscopal Cross carried before him in great Pomp and Ceremony, and repaired to the Prison, attended by several armed persons. They demanded the Prisoner, but being denied him, they broke open the door, killed the Keeper, who was then upon his duty, and carried away *Hautcassel*. This outrage struck every body with a just horror and indignation against that Prelate, who had presumed to commit such

Bernard Hi-
stoire de
Louis 13. l.
11. N. 29.
Gramont
Histor. Gal-
lis, l. 2.

such an almost unheard-of violence, against a Decree of a Sovereign Court, and under the Nose too of the King, who was then at *Bourdeaux*. The Parliament therefore complained of it immediately to the Court, and desired his Majesty to give them leave to prosecute a man, who forgetting his quality of Archbishop and Cardinal, had openly violated the Laws, invaded the Sovereign Authority, and caused an Officer most unjustly to be killed, only because he resisted violence according to the Duty of his place.

This Affair was so black and notorious, that the Priviledges of Bishops and Cardinals were alledged in vain, in favour of *Sardis*, and the Court could not refuse giving these Magistrates leave to proceed against him. Hereupon they issued a Warrant for the taking of him up, but upon notice of it, the Cardinal fled away, and retired to a place wherein he thought himself secure. The Parliament upon this summoned him in form, and were resolved to pass sentence upon him for Contumacy, in case he did not appear to take his Tryal; but as they were about it, the King stopt their proceedings, by ordering the Matter to be laid before him, till the Cardinal had surrendered himself to Justice. The Court of *France* was very loath to fall out with that of *Rome*, which pretends that it only belongs to the Pope to make out Proces against Cardinals; and

1615.

and therefore to prevent all disputes between the King and his Holiness, the former pardoned the Cardinal, upon account, as it was given out, of his Majesty's Marriage being then celebrated at *Bourdeaux*. 'Tis true, the Crime of this Prelate was not punished as it deserved; but however, by this expedient, the King perserved at least in shew his Authority and Jurisdiction over his Subjects, who certainly cannot be under the cognizance and power of a Foreign Prince, tho cloathed with the ridiculous Purple of a Cardinal.

Notwithstanding the Army of the Prince of *Conde* was in a very poor condition when he marched into *Poitou*, yet the Neighbourhood, and various motions of his Highness, did not a little disturb the joy, which the consummation of the double Marriage gave to Queen *Mary de Medicis*; and the uneasiness of the Court increased very much, upon advice, that the Prince had received several reinforcements. The Duke *de la Tremomille*, a near Relation of his Highness, declared for him; but how distinguished so ever the Family of that young Lord was, by the great Alliances it had both within and out of the Kingdom, and by the many considerable Lordships belonging to it in *Poitou*, yet his declaring himself for him, was not by a great deal so advantageous to the Prince as that of *Soubize*, Brother to the Duke of *Conde*.

*The Reformed
join with the
Prince of
Conde.*

*Memoires de
Rohan* I. 1.
*Vie de M. du
Plessis Mor-
nat* I. iii. Let-
tres & Me-
moires du
meme 1615.

1615. of *Rohan*. This latter had a great personal Merit, and besides, brought along with him a good body of Foot, whereas *LaTremouille* had neither Interest nor Experience. What care soever his Mother had taken about his Education, and bringing him under the tuition of *duPlessisMornai*, it was easily perceived that the young Duke would never have the Genius, nor the other qualities of his Father. *Conde* was received into *St. Jean d' Angeli*; *Rochel* embraced his Interests; and the Duke of *Sully* did the same, after a long Negotiation, tho I confess he had no great reason to joyn with a Prince, who had set so many Engines at work to ruin him. It may be, that *Sully* designed to revenge himself of the affronts put upon him by the *Queen*, and the *Mareschal d' Ancre*; but what help could he expect from the Prince of *Conde* and the *Mareschal of Bouillon*? They had been the first Authors of his disgrace, and both of them hated him more a great deal, than *Mary de Medicis* and her *Conchini* did. So strange are the effects of Hatred and Ambition, that to revenge our selves of an Enemy less invenomed, and to support our Fortune at any rate whatsoever, we often throw our selves into the Arms of those, who seemingly seek our friendship, tho at the same time it be in order to compleat our ruin, by sacrificing us to those, of whom we would fain be revenged our selves. *Conde* was ob-

III. B. VIII. LEWIS XIII. 43
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obliged to the Duke of *Rohan*, and his
near Relations, for some great advantages,
which delivered his Highness from
the contempt the Court began to have
for him: A Service, which the Prince,
who was naturally none of the grateful-
lest, and was always influenced by the
Mareschal de *Bouillon*, but ill requited
afterwards. The Count of *Candale* ma-
naged the Prince's Cause in the Assem-
bly of the Reformed at *Nismes*, with a
great deal of vigour and success, and
this new and false Protestant had so
much Cunning and Address, as to per-
suade the old and true ones, that the
Interests of their Religion required them
openly to embrace the Party of the
Malecontents. On the other hand, *Cha-
tillon*, whom the Court had engaged in
their Party, being seconded by the
Creatures of the Mareschal de *Lesdigui-
res*, and the Friends of *Du Plessis Mor-
nat*, was caballing at *Nismes*, and other
parts in *Languedoc*, to prevent the union
of the Reformed with the Prince of *Con-
de*; but notwithstanding the credit of the
Grandson of the Admiral de *Coligny*, yet
Candale had so much subtilty, as to get
himself chosen General of the Reformed
in the *Cevennes*, and to engage their As-
sembly to come wholly into the Interest
of the Prince of *Conde*. Whether *Candale*
was more vigilant and active than *Cha-
tillon*, and knew better how to insinuate
himself into an Assembly, which were al-
ready

Mercure
Francois.
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ready prepared by the artifices of the Dukes of Rohan, Soubize and Sully; or whether the fresh Merit of the pretended Conversion of the Count of Candale, prevailed over the name and ancient services of the Ancestors of Chatillon, is uncertain. But things having been so well managed at Nismes, the Assembly resolved to send new Deputies to Court again, and humbly represent to the King, the just Reasons the Reformed Churches of France had, to complain of the frequent and considerable infractions of the Edict of Nants, and to desire of his Majesty, that the like may not be done for the future. This complaint was only made use of, to keep up a respectful Decorum with their Sovereign; for they knew well enough that the Court would not grant any thing more than what they had declared, in their answer to the *Cahiers*, or Remonstrances that had been presented. And the Members of that Assembly were so much convinced of this, that when they sent their representation to Court, they sent at the same time some Deputies, with all necessary Powers and Instructions, to conclude a Treaty of Union with the Prince of Conde, being persuaded in our Consciences, say they, in one of their Circular Letters to all the Reformed Churches about this Matter, that the Party of the Prince is the most lawful, and that his Highness does only aim at what

may

may be most useful and advantageous to the King's service, and the preservation of his Authority. Let us frankly acknowledge, that there was neither Prudence nor Sincerity in those proceedings of the Assembly of *Nismes*; for every thing there was carried on by caballing, and no resolutions were taken, but by the Intrigues of some great men, who had more their own private Interests in view, than any real concern for the good of that Religion they professed. The wisest men in that Assembly were sensible of it; but the desire they had to support the Duke of *Rohan*, or rather their fear of abandoning to the resentment of the Court a Nobleman, who of all the Reformed Lords had most merit, and the best intentions; tho' it must be owned, that his Passion engag'd him a little too hastily in the Party of the Prince of *Conde*: These considerations, I say, induced the most moderate part of the Assembly, to consent to the Union, which the Duke of *Rohan* solicited with all the earnestness imaginable, that he might not be left to the discretion of the Marshal de *Bouillon*, being sure he would not fail to Negotiate a Peace as soon as he found his private account in it. Altho' Du *Plessis Mornai*, and some other good men did earnestly wish, that the Duke of *Rohan* might honourably come off of these difficulties, yet they thought that their Consciences would

Vie de M. de Plessis Mornai, l. iii.
Letters & Memoires du même 1615.

would not suffer them to concern themselves in a difference that was merely Politick ; and therefore *D^r Plessis Mornas* withstood all the sollicitations of the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *La Tremouille*, and several other persons of the first Rank. *Religion is not concerned in this Affair*, said he to all those who asked his opinion ; and when the proceedings of the Assembly of *Nismes* were insisted on, to render the Reformed odious to the young King, *du Plessis* never failed to vindicate his Party. *Why should these troubles, said he, be imputed rather to our People than the Roman Catholicks ? The Nobility, Gentry, and Cities of both Communions, do indifferently espouse the Party of the Prince.*

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The Treaty of *Adjunction* of the Reformed Churches to his Highness, and the Associated Lords with him, was at last signed at the Camp of *Sanzai* in *Poitou*, Nov. 27. and these are the principal Articles of it. *To endeavour joynly the safety of the Kings person, and the preservation of his Authority, according to the Project contained in the famous Article of the Third Estate ; To oppose the publishing of the Council of Trent ; To prevent the mischievous consequences of the double Marriage with Spain ; To insist upon the establishment of a good Council to advise his Majesty ; To procure an exact observance of the Edict of *Nants*, and that the Reformed might be maintained in the posses-*

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on of all the Rights and Priviledges that had been granted to them by the late King. Both Parties likewise obliged themselves to stand inseparably united, not to quit their Arms, till the conditions agreed upon should be performed: And lastly, not to make any Treaty of Peace without their joyn't consent. Thus the credulous Reformed were decoyed by the specious Proposals of the Prince of Conde. These good people thought that his Highnes, and the Principal Lords of their Religion, had as sincere and upright intentions, as they expressed in their publick Declarations and Manifesto's.

The Treaty of the Assembly of *Nismes* A Declaration of the King, occasioned by the Protestants taking up Arms in several parts of the Kingdom. with the Prince of Conde, caused a great deal of scandal in the Protestant Churches and elsewhere, and so much the more, because the King had but a few days before, issued a Declaration, to assure his Protestant Subjects, of the firm resolutions he had to maintain the Edicts of *Pacification*, and to take away all manner of jealousies, from them, upon account of the double Match with *Spain*; and lastly, to invite those that had sided with the Prince of Conde to return to their duty. This Declaration was admirably well penned; and the Reform'd, who had declared for the Prince, were ranked into two Classes, the one was ambitious men, who made use of the honourable pretence of Religion, to cover the Projects they had laid, to advance

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vance themselves to great Fortunes and preferments ; and the other, were the weak and timorous persons, who, being seduced and imposed upon by the false impressions that were given them, that in the Treaty of the double Marriage with Spain, the King had bound himself by a secret Article to extirpate the Protestants, thought they had a right to take up arms for their common defence.

These, said the King, would never have given credit to such an impudent and malicious falsehood, if they had but considered that it was not likely, that in an Alliance sought after with Honour, and in such a manner as is commonly practised amongst great Princes, they should have required of us such conditions, as were enough to put the whole Kingdom into a flame, and cause even Rivers of Blood to run down the Streets. After this, they appealed the Prince of Conde himself, the Mareschal de Bouillon, and all others that had been present in the Council, when the double Match was debated, and who knew all the conditions of the Treaties concluded with Spain, to witness the truth hereof. We are so far from being willing, says his Majesty, that France should become the Bloody Theatre of War, which would certainly break out, if differences about Religion were to be decided by Arms, that we firmly believe, the decision of that controversy ought to be left to God alone, who knows, and will, in his due time, when

when he sees it convenient, both for his own Glory and our Salvation, make use of the most proper Remedies, to bring all Christians to serve and worship him, according to the Purity of his Doctrine. Could that Prince have thought he who so plainly told us, that the Judgment of differences in Religion, ought to be left to God alone; cou'd he have thought, I say, that his Son should put himself one day in the place of God Almighty, and send word to his Subjects, *You must change your Religion, the King will have it so?* Are Exiles, Imprisonments, Confiscation of Goods, Violence of Soldiers, Galleys, horrid Punishments, and other cruel Artifices unknown to the greatest Persecutors of the Christian Name, which his Son has since made use of to re-unite all his Subjects to what he is pleased to call the true Church; are all these inhumanities the proper and convenient means, which the Almighty knew how to employ for the re-union of Christians, according to *Lewis XIII.* his hopes and expectations.

The King does in the next place protest, that he will cause the Edict of *Nantes* to be inviolably observed, and likewise every thing else that had been granted in consequence thereof, and commands that all the infractions which had been made contrary to his Will, should be immediately made void. Then it is declared afterwards, that in considera-

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deration of an infinite number of good Subjects of the Reformed Religion, amongst whom there are many persons distinguish'd by their Birth and Employments, who deserve so well from his Majesty, as that he should extend his Royal Clemency to others of the same Religion with themselves ; he fully and entirely forgives all those that have taken up Arms against him, provided they will return to their Duty ; but withal, if they persist any longer in refusing the Grace and Favour his Majesty now is pleased to shew them, then he declares them *Guilty of High Treason*, disturbers of the Publick Peace, and that they have forfeited all the Priviledges that had been before given them.

As I am not overforward in vindicating the proceedings of the Assembly of *Nismes*, so I should likewise without any difficulty blame those French Protestants, who would not submit after a Declaration which appeared so just and reasonable, were I not perswaded, that they might have very good reasons to mistrust the promises of the most crafty and perfidious Court that ever was in *France*, before that of *Lewis the XIV.* It was one of their maxims to offer and promise every thing when the necessity of their Affairs required it, and afterwards by one trick or other, to elude all they had said, let their promise have been never so solemnly given ; nay, they did

did not scruple then to declare openly that they would not stand to them, so soon as ever the juncture of Affairs proved more favourable. The series of this History affords convincing proofs that the Court sought only to surprize the Reformed, and amuse them with fair words. Has not *Lewis XIV.* frankly declared to all the world, that his Father and he did never intend to maintain the Edicts which they published and confirmed, *as perpetual and irrevocable Laws*? Had *Mary de Medicis* sincerely designed to give any satisfaction to the Reformed about their just demands, she would have procured a more favourable answer to the remonstrances made to the King from the Assembly of *Grenoble*. *Du Plessis Mornai*, that peaceable man, whose Conduct was all along so acceptable to her Majesty, was continually almost representing to her, that it was an easy matter to satisfy the Reformed, by granting to them soine few things, which the King might very well gratify them in, without *inconveniencing any body, and without exceeding the bounds of the Edict and other former Concessions*.

I cannot forbear relating in this place, an instance which will shew us the Prudence and Religion of that truly Christian Politician. The Mareschal de *Lesdiguières* sent towards the latter end of this year his Secretary to *Sauvur*, under pretence of conferring with *du Plessis*, about the methods

*The Prudence
of du Plessis
Mornai in
those difficult
times.*

1615. how to prevent the calamities which the
 Vie de M. du
 Plessis l. iii.
 Lettres me-
 moires du
 mene, 1616. *Lesdiguières* proposed to desire leave of

the King to meet at some other place, and then, said he, after his *Majesty* shall have declared therein his good intentions, of causing the *Edict of Nantes* to be inviolably observed, and of maintaining whatever has been granted in consequence thereof, the *Reformed*, who were faithful to the King, shall authentickly disown what the others have done at *Nismes*. *Du Plessis* look'd upon this Proposal as a snare, and suspected that this artifice had been suggested by the Court to *Lesdiguières*, with a design to weaken the *Reformed* Churches by a fatal Schism, which two Assemblies so contrary to each other, would certainly produce. I cannot positively tell that it was so, nor assert that this expedient was of his own contrivance; possibly the *Mareschal* sought an opportunity to revenge himself for the affront he pretended he had received from the Assembly of *Grenoble*, which had expressed some Jealousies of him, and to make his Court to *Mary de Medicis*, in procuring such a division among the *Reformed*, as might bring their ruin and destruction very easie. I hope I shall not be guilty of any rashness in saying, that *Lesdiguières* did never love his Religion. If he had any sin-

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sincerity in the profession of it for some time, 'tis certain that he cared not what became of it after the Assembly of *Gre-noble*. His infamous marriage with *Mary Vignon* is a clear indication of that, and if he did not go then to Mass, it was only because he waited for a favourable opportunity, which happened some time after, to sacrifice the Religion he had defended and seemingly professed, to the first dignity of the Sword, which his immoderate ambition had for a long time aspired at.

But whatever secret motives induced *Lesdiguières* to make that Proposal, the judicious *du Plessis Mornai* rejected it, and remonstrated to the Mareschal, That if any disease had seized the Reformed Churches, that part which was whole and free, ought to think of the best means to recover the other, and not to destroy it. It seems more convenient, said he, that the King should appoint such of his Council, who are the most just and moderate, to revise the Cahiers that have been presented by our Churches, and that he should return to them the favourablest Answers he could. When that is done, the King may command the Assembly of Nismes to repair to Montpel- lier, that so they re-assuming their lawful form, our Churches might receive the fa-vours which the King would be pleased to grant them. The Treaty of Adjunction with the Prince of Conde, was carried but by two Voices; and no doubt but a great ma-

The History of Book VIII

my will return to their Duty, so soon as they see that the King does Justice to us, and gratifies us besides with something more. Nothing could be better contrived than this Expedient, and if the Court had been sincere, how came it to pass that they did not make use of it?

Du Plessis tells us another thing, which sheweth that he was thoroughly acquainted with their manners and maxims. When, says he in his Memorial, you give any advice to the Court, they have been used to take something of it, and leave the rest, tho oftentimes the best part. This ought to be seriously weighed and considered. Everyone of us is persuaded that we have not had Justice on the Cahiers we have presented. If therefore the Court should now order our Deputies to repair from Nismes to Montpellier, and call there an Assembly in form, without having any regard to our grievances and just demand, such a step would not only prove useless, but likewise very dangerous. I relate here these private Negotiations of an honest man, tho they were without any effect, because, in my opinion, they contain a wonderful Instruction. We see therein on one hand, the penetration and probity of *du Plessis*, and on the other, the character of the Court, and those with whom he was treating. Historians think they do wonders, when they give a long detail of the Intrigues of the Cabinets of Princes; and what is there found commonly therein,

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in, the Artifices of some *honest Villains*, who seek to over-reach and deceive one another? Is it not then much better and more useful to discover to the world, the thoughts and reflections of a man, whose Genius and whose Heart were equally upright and sincere?

Notwithstanding the King's Army 1616.

was much stronger than that of the Prince of *Conde*, since it had been reinforced by the Troops under the Command of the Mareschal of *Bois-Dauphin*, which had followed the Prince close at his heels, tho without doing him much mischief, and by some other Troops which came to his Majesty from several Provinces, yet the Union of the Reformed Party with the Malecontents, made the Queen Mother extraordinary uneasy. They mistrusted also *Cesar*

*The Duke of Vendome de-
clares for the Prince of Conde.*

Duke of *Vendome*, who raised men in several parts under pretence of serving his Majesty, and yet were affraid he held a secret correspondence with the Prince.

In this uncertainty the King wrote to him, to come immediately and joyn him with the Forces under his Command.

Vendome made a new as if he would pay him an exact Obedience, but instead of marching into *Guienne*, he re-

*Mercure
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ture into his Government of *Britany*, which then confirmed and encreas'd the suspicion the Court had of him.

The President *Feannin* however, af- fured the King of the stedfast Fidelity of

1616.

*Journal of
Bassompierre.
Memoires du
Duc de Ro-
han. L. 1.*

Vendome, and offered to be his security ; but some intercepted Letters produced in Council by *Bassompierre*, stopt the mouth of the President, who was either too credulous, or too favourable to the beloved Son of his Master. Those Letters discovered, that the Prince of *Conde*, and the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Longueville*, had written to their Friends to joyn *Cesar*, who some days after openly declared himself. An Herald was hereupon forthwith sent to command him to lay down his Arms, disband his Troops, and come to Court, upon pain of being declared a Rebel, and proceeded against as one guilty of High Treason ; but the Duke answered in plain terms, that he had taken up Arms in conjunction with the Prince of *Conde*, for revenging the Death of the late King his Father, and for that Cause he would venture his Life, his Estate and his Friends. But *Vendome* came into the Party too late, for proposals of Peace were already on foot ; and he was too young and inconsiderate to perceive that his Declaration would have no other effect, than to procure more advantageous terms to the Prince of *Conde*, and draw upon himself most of the hatred which their Majestys had conceived for the Party he so unreasonably embraced.

*The Queen
Mother endeav-
ours to divide
the Prince and
the Noblemen
of his party.*

The King, with the two Queens, set out from *Bourdeaux* towards the latter end of the preceding year, to go to *Poictiers*,

Poictiers, intending from thence to get to 1616. Tours, a convenient and a pleasant place, to tarry at till the Negotiations were over. The King had removed the Mareschal *de Bois-Dauphin* from the Command of the Army, either because he was suspected of favouring the Prince of *Conde*, whose Troops he might several times have defeated, or else because his Conduct did not answer the expectation the Court had conceived from his experience and ability. The Duke of *Guise* Memoires
Siroc Tom. 1
Vie du Duc
Epernon. was thereupon declared Lieutenant General of the King's Army, and the proud *Epernon* made a shew, as if he would generously give him up a place which he had a right to pretend to, and to be satisfied with the honour they did him, 1615. in appointing him a second time to conduct their Majesties out of those Provinces, which were like to be the Seat of War, in case the Negotiations of Peace did not succeed. Then he dissembled as well as he could, the vexation he had of seeing his Credit and Favour declining every day. The artifices made use of by the Mareschal *d'Ancre* and his Wife, to ruin the Duke and the old Ministers of State, did wonderfully take; and the Queen-Mother, who grew every day more and more jealous of *Epernon*, was entirely disposed to give him up as a sacrifice to the Prince of *Conde*, and *Conchini*, who both hated him alike. While she was at *Bordeaux*, and the

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Court in great perplexity, upon intelligence that the Prince's party was grown considerably stronger, but otherwise glad in her heart that she had so gloriously put an end to the business of the double Marriage; she remembred the good advice which had been given her by the Duke of Rohan, who did not then foresee what

Memoires de Rohan l. 1. that afterwards came to pass, which was, *Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*.

that her Majesty ought to break the league with the Prince of Conde, as *Lewis the XI.* had done that of the *Publick Good*, by gaining over to him one after another, those who were entered thereinto. This advice was thought practicable in the present juncture, and they therefore resolved to make a Tryal of it, and began with the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the *Mareschal de Bousillon*, who had the greatest interest among the *Malecontents*.

The Queen Mother knew very well that *Mayenne* was affraid to lose his Government on the other side of the *Loire*, which he was not able to protect, the whole Forces of his Party being in *Poitou*, and that Duke being a natural Enemy to the Reformed Religion, which his Father and the rest of his Family had endeavoured to destroy in *France*, he began to be weary of an Enterprize, which he thought might bring too many advantages to the Reformed Churches. Her Majesty knew likewise, that the *Mareschal de Bousillon* being pretty old, would be only thinking how to secure the

the Principality of Sedan to his Children, who were as yet but young; and he despaired of ever augmenting his Credit and Authority among those of his own Religion, having imprudently forfeited the esteem and trust they had in him, since the unhappy Assembly of Saumur. Bouillon was also so much the easier to be gained, as that he had made himself the chief Author of the War, without any other design than to have the honour of concluding the Peace. *He was in hopes that the King would acknowledge this last service, and that by that means he might come into publick Business.* An Error, says a Person of Honour, with which he had flattered himself ever since the beginning of the Regency, and which one d' Estrees would have thought he might have been cured of, by the so frequent miscarriages of all his projects. These considerations persuaded Mary de Medicis, that if once a Negotiation could be set on foot, it might be easily brought to a happy issue, by granting some advantages to the Prince of Conde, the Duke of Mayenne, and the Marechal de Bouillon, who would be glad to make their own Peace at the cost of all the rest.

Edmund, Ambassador from England, The King of England offers his Mediation for the Peace of France.

Edmund, Ambassador from England, came very seasonably to offer the Mediation of the King his Master for adjusting those differences, which he was afraid would at last break out into a Civil War. The Prince of Conde had desired King

1616. King *James* to assist him with Men and Money ; but *God forbid*, answered his Majesty to the Marquels de Bonnivet, Envoy from his Highness, *That I should break the Peace and good Correspondence that is between the French King and me.*

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Memoires de Rohan 1. *As I have nothing more at heart than the preservation of Peace in my own Kingdoms,*
Memoires de la Regence *I would be glad to procure the same happiness to my Neighbours. All that I can do for the Prince of Conde, is, to offer him my good offices, and endeavour to reconcile him with the King his near Relation.* The answer of his Majesty of Great Britain was extreamly judicious, and worthy of a Christian Prince ; but should he not in good Politicks have threatened *France*, that the Protestant States would not care much to cultivate her Alliance, if she entered into too strict ties and bonds with *Spain* their greatest Enemy ? 'Tis true, *Lewis* in marrying the Infanta of *Spain*, did not however espouse all the Interests of *Philip* his Father-in-law ; but, in short, that double Marriage, concluded with so much precipitation, and in spite of so many contradictions, was a sufficient evidence that the King of *Spain* had many Creatures in the Council of *France*, and there was reason enough to fear that the Court of *Madrid* would have a great influence on the resolutions that should be taken therein. The event shewed the truth thereof to the cost of the Elector Palatine, Son-in-law to King

King *James*. For *Spain* found means 1616. to hinder *France* from meddling too much in the affairs, which shortly after happened in *Germany*. King *James* offered his Fleet, and whatever was in his power, to the Republick of *Venice*, against the House of *Austria*, and at the same time suffered with all the calumnies imaginable, that the said House should contract in the sight of *England*, such an Alliance as would have been fatal to all the Protestants in the world; if a Cardinal, a greater States-man than he, had not preferred the Interest of the Crown of *France*, to those of the Church of *Rome*. His *Britanick* Majesty was so ignorant of his ruin, that he was decoyed with the hopes of marrying his Son the Prince of *Wales* with the Infanta of *Spain*, as we shall see anon.

Edmund having offered himself to go from the King his Master to the Prince of *Conde*, and to prepare him for demanding Peace of his most Christian Majesty, he was most kindly answered, that the Mediation of the King of *Great Britain* would be very acceptable to King *Lewis*. Much about the same time came the Duke of *Nevers* to *Bourdeaux*, and proffered also his Mediation. The Duke, proud to see himself at the head of his Soldiers, whom he had raised in his own Territories, and in his Government of *Champagne*, doubted not but he should be able to force both Parties to an agree-

*The Prince of
Conde's first
step towards
the Peace.*

*Mercure
Francois,
Aout, 1616.*

1616. ment. Both Parties, said he to himself, *Memoires de will be affraid lest I should turn the Bal-Rohan l. 1. lance on that side, to which I shall threaten the Regency of to joyn my self.* Impertinent and ridiculous.

Mary de Me^{re} lous Vanity! This was as much as either a King of *Spain* or *England* could pretend to. However, though the Court regarded but very little the Duke of *Never's* proceedings, yet they were pleased to see that he closed in with the Ambassador of *England* to begin the Negotiation. Wherefore in order to it, they went to meet the Prince of *Conde* as far as *St Jean d' Angeli*. The Prince was easily prevailed upon, being perswaded that the juncture of Affairs could hardly ever be more favourable to him, for obtaining advantageous terms: wherefore he wrote a Letter full of respect to the King, which was carried by the Baron of *Thianges*, and delivered to his Majesty at *Rochefoucault*, as we was making his progress to *Poitiers*. The Prince of *Conde* in his Letter, most humbly besought the King to give Peace to his Subjects, and to consider the Remonstrances of the States General, and the Parliament of *Paris*. This was said in pure Ceremony, and still to impose upon and blind the People. But his Highnes's great concern was to make the world believe, that his chief aim in the proposed Negotiation, was only for the publick good: and it was very necessary to keep the people thus deceived, till the Prince and the

great

great Lords had settled their own private affairs, according to their best advantage. 1616.

The first day of the year 1616. the King answered the Prince of *Conde's Letter*; and declared, that both himself, and the Queen his Mother, were always inclined to reform the Council, and that their Majestys would have had a regard to the Reimonstrances of the Parliament, and the Memorials of the States General, had they not been prevented by the over-hasty retirement of the Prince. The King concluded his Letter with some Testimonies of his good Intentions, for giving content to his Subjects, and withal, agreed to have a conference with the Prince, by some persons whom his Majesty would be pleased to appoint for that purpose. Wherefore the Duke of *Nevers* was ordered to go back to his Highness, and to agree with him, about the time, the place, and the manner of the Conference. The Prince of *Conde* had not failed to acquaint the Assembly of *Nismes*, with the steps he had made for the Negotiating of the Peace, and to advise them to send their Deputies to the Court, with orders to proceed unanimously with his Highness's Envoy, that so the Preliminaries of the Conference might be agreed upon. *Bertheville* and two others were chosen for this purpose, and charged with a Letter to the King. The Assembly cleared themselves.

*A Conference
was agreed
upon for the
Peace, and a
suspension of
Arms.*

*Mercure
Francois,
1616.*

*Memoires of
the Regency of
Mary de Me-
dicis.*

*The Life of M.
du Plessis-
Morni, l. iii.*

*Letters and
Memoirs of
the same,
1616.*

The History of Book VIII.

selves as well as they could, of their Treaty of Union with the Prince of *Conde*, and of their refusal to comply with his Majestys Commands, who had ordered them to remove from *Nismes* to *Montpellier*. *Bertheville* and his two Colleagues were at *Poitiers*, (where the Court then was) when *Thianges*, sent from the Prince of *Conde* the second time, arrived there. They agreed upon some Articles, which were presented to the King in the name of the Prince and the Assembly of *Nismes*, and demanded unanimously that the Preliminaries of the Conference, (which kept every body in suspence and expectation) might be agreed upon.

In the Memorial drawn to this effect, the King was most humbly intreated to grant Peace to his Subjects, and to give leave to the Prince of *Conde*, and the Deputies of the Assembly of *Nismes*, to enter jointly into a Conference with the Persons whom his Majesty should please to appoint, to deliver his brief for transferring the Assembly of *Nismes* to some place nearer to the Court, and to consent, that the Ambassador of the King of *England* might be present at the Treaty, as a witness on both sides of the Transactions of this Negotiation. The word *witness* was a mysterious thing in this case, but they were obliged to express themselves in this manner, because according to the stile of the Court, the

Majesty of a Sovereign doth not allow him to own any person for a *Mediator* betwixt him and his Subjects. When a King treats with his People, he is so nice, that he will, at least in appearance, give the Law himself. The Prince of *Conde*, requested also that the Countess of *Soissans* and the Dutchess of *Longueville* might be called to the Conference, and desired to be informed of the place chosen by his Majesty, and the persons he had appointed for the Conference. In fine, he intreated the King to declare what should become of the two Armies, till the Negotiation was concluded.

The second Article of his Highness's demands met with great difficulties. The King did not own the Assembly of *Nismes* for a legal Assembly, and would neither receive their Letter, nor hearken to their Deputies. The Envoy of the Prince, who very well knew, that his Master's Interest could not allow him to separate himself from the Reformed Party, without which he could never expect to obtain any very considerable terms; *Thianges*, I say, spoke boldly upon this occasion, *I have orders*, said he, *to stay here, and not to return to his Highness, till after the Letter, written to the King by the Assembly of Nismes, be received; and an Audience be given to their three Deputies.* Whereupon the Court was obliged to find out an expedient, for they were resolv'd to go on with the Ne-

1616.

Negotiation that was begun ; wherefore this was found out, That the King shpuld deal with those of *Nismes*, as with persons that were come to Court of their own accord by themselves, and that he should not own them for a General Assembly of the Reformed Churches of *France*. After this was o-
ver, *Bertheville* made his Speech to the King, in presenting him the Letter with which he was charged. *Brißac*, Ma-
reschal of *France*, and *Villeroy*, Secre-
tary of State, having concerted with the Prince, whom they went to attend from his Majesty, that the Conference should be opened at *Londun*, the 10th of *Fe-
bruary*, that the Deputies of *Nismes* should be admitted to it, and that the Affairs should be handled in such a man-
ner, the King then published a suspen-
sion of Arms till the first day of *March*.

The Disputes renewed between the Duke of Savoy and the new Governor of Milan. In the mean time, while the Court of *France* rejoiced, in hopes that they should shortly see their Domestick *Bron-
illeries* happily brought to an end, they were afraid that the troubles of *Italy* would oblige them at last to break in good earnest with *Spain*. The Clouds grew every day thicker and darker, between the Repub-
lick of *Venice* and *Ferdinand*, Arch-Duke of *Gratz* : the King of *Spain*, who had more respect for him than for all the o-
ther Princes of his Family in *Germany*, seemed to threaten the *Venetians* with a

Di-

Diversion in *Italy*, if they continued to make irruptions into the Territories of the Arch-Duke: from whence it happened, that these wise and skilful Politicians, changing their sentiments according to the playing of their several respective Interests, were so far from pressing the Duke of *Savoy* to disarm, as they had done before, that they encouraged him to keep up his Forces, furnished him with Money, and entertained him with the hopes of being able to conclude a League with the Republick. *Charles Emmanuel* hearkened with a great deal of pleasure to the *Venetians* Insinuations. His uneasy temper, and his natural ambition, did set him forward to take hold on every opportunity that was offered him for continuing the War, and taking his revenge on the Court of *Madrid*, which he knew hated him. *Don Pedro of Toledo*, the new Governor of *Milan*, exasperated also this haughty spirit, by using him with too much arrogance: and the *Spaniard* gave him to understand, that he had no mind to perform the Treaty of *Ast*, which his Predecessor had concluded with the Duke of *Savoy*. The Court of *France* saw with great dissatisfaction that the Broils in *Italy* were so far from being quelled, that new ones were still riling up; and *Mary de Medicis* was afraid lest her Son should be obliged to enter into a War against *Spain*, in case that that Crown should attack

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the Duke of *Savoy*, or the Republick of *Venice*? For besides, that the most Christian King was the chiefest Guarantee of the Treaty of *Ast*, good Policy would not permit him to suffer that King *Philip* should still grow more powerful in *Italy*.

Nani Historia Veneta,
l. ii. 1615,
1616. Vito-
torio Siri Me-
morei recon-
dite Tom.
iii. pag. 379
380, &c.
407, 408, &c.

As these new quarrels between the Duke of *Savoy* and the Governour of *Milan*, have been attended with very great consequences, I will insert here the origine and the progress. Immediately after the entire accomplishment of the affair concerning the Double Match, the Court of *Madrid* laboured very hard in finding out means to free themselves from the necessity of putting into execution the Treaty of *Ast*, for they looked upon it there as a stain upon the Glory and Reputation of the Catholick King. The Marques d' *Inoiosa* was recalled from *Milan*, and *Don Pedro de Toledo*, Marques of *Villafranca*, was sent in his place. The Indignation they had conceived against *Inoiosa* was such, that the Duke of *Lerma*, with all his Interest and Credit, could not prevent his Friend from being sent Prisoner into the Town of *Alcala*; and Commissioners were appointed in order to proceed to his Trial. The Marques in his defence produced the orders he had received from *Madrid*, and the resolutions of the Council of War held at *Milan*. Yet notwithstanding all that, he must

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fall a Sacrifice to their resentments, had not the Ministers of State, and especially the Duke of *Lerma*, been extreamly sollicitous to bring him off. At last he was cleared, to the great astonishment of *Spain*. Every body concluded from thence, that *Inoiosa* had done nothing in that matter, but in concert with the Duke of *Lerma*. And as a *premier* Minister has always a world of persons, that at the same time do both envy and hate him, either for his Fortune, or (what they'll be sure to call) his ill Conduct and Ministry, so the Duke was mightily cried down on all hands, and charged with all the odiousness of that shameful Treaty, which the Marques had concluded with the Duke of *Savoy*. The crafty intriguing Courtiers laid all the fault upon this *premier* Minister, for not having sacrificed *Inoiosa* to his Interest. *By stickling*, said they, *to save his Friend, the Duke of Lerma, had like to have ruined himself with the King*. *The Justice* he pretends to do the Marques of *Inoiosa*, *will be the first thing that malicious and contriving Enemies will lay hold on to accuse a Favourite that is become odious to them*. However, the Duke was extreamly to be commended in forgetting his own Interests, for the service and saving of his Friend, who indeed after all was not very much to be found fault with. But the Court makes other constructions of men's Actions;

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for Reason and Justice there are little accounted of: and those are the most in reputation, who can best advance and maintain their Fortunes by any ways whatsoever.

Don Pedro de Toledo was a man of a haughty Spirit, forward and enterprizing; had always professed a mighty Zeal for the Glory of his King; which in *Spain* and elsewhere is often preferred before a just and solid Merit. The hatred he bore to *Inoiosa*, did vehemently push him on to ruin all that his Predecessor had done, and being also related to the House of *Mantua*, he was the more naturally disposed to be an Enemy to the Duke of *Savoy*. The Spaniards were very much pleased with the choice the King had made of such a Subject for the Government of *Milan*. *He is*, said they, *the fittest Man in the World to fill up that important place. He will quickly amend the faults of his careless and unworthy Predecessor.* So soon as the new Governour was landed at *Final*, he sufficiently discovered that he came not into *Italy*, with a design there to maintain the Peace, which had been concluded some months before. *Toledo* spoke of *Inoiosa* with the utmost contempt and scorn, and in downright terms called him *Veillaque*, or Robber. *Instead of maintaining the Honour of the Nation*, said he, *that miserable wretch has caused the greatest affront to be put upon us*;

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but by the Grace of God I'll set things on a better foot. My Predecessor had no orders to grant such unreasonable terms to the Marquis of Rambouillet, the Ambassador of France. Nor is the Treaty of *Ast* anything else but a meer collusion between Inoiosa and the Duke of Savoy. The Court of *Turin* was soon informed of these discourses, and *Charles Emanuel*, who had already begun to disband his Troops, did now alter his mind, upon that advice; and at the sollicitation of the Senate of *Venice*, he not only resolved to keep his remaining Forces on foot, but also to make new Levies, seeing the *Spaniards* declared so plainly their design for breaking the Treaty of *Ast*.

The Governoour still more fully opened himself, and his intentions in the answer he made to the Agent of *France*, who pressed him to disarm, according to the agreement made with the Marques of *Inoiosa*. What Character have you, said *Don Pedro* very haughtily, for maintaining unto me, that the King my Master is obliged to break his Army, and only to keep up so many Regiments as the Duke of Savoy pleases? If you are sent by the King of *France*, I know what respect is due to so great a Prince. The strict Alliance that his Catholick Majesty has lately contracted with him, engages me still to have a greater consideration for the most Christian King. But shew me first that you have the necessary powers for treating with me. Where are

your

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your Credential Letters? The Agent was much perplexed at this discourse, for he had nothing to shew but some writings, wherein the Marques of Inoiosa had owned him in that Quality. *All that I can infer from what you shew me, replied the Spaniard, is, that the Marques of Rambouillet might have given you a Commission to act after his Departure: but his Negotiation was then finished. And you must know that an Ambassador has no power to substitute another in his room. Wherefore I cannot hear you, as an Envoy from the King of France.* But soon after Toledo left off his respectful terms, when he spoke of his most Christian Majesty; and it seemed that he had a mind to insult him, by asking impertinent questions to the Agent. *Is the King of France, asked the Spaniard, so much at quiet in his own Dominions, as to be at leisure to settle Peace among his Neighbours? His Majesty hath not one foot of ground in Italy; why does he then concern himself so much about the number of Forces that my Master sees fitting to keep there.*

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite. Tom.
iii. pag. 377,
378, 387.

Ferdinand, Duke of Mantua, soon after this repaired to Milan, where he designed to have a conference with the new Gouvernour, about the affairs concerning the House of Mantua. The Duke had sent back the Cardinal's Cap to Rome, desiring the Pope to bestow it upon Prince Vincent of Gonzague. His Highness was then resolved to marry, tho

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it must be confessed he never was over-scrupulous in observing Celibacy ; but he was fallen in Love with a Princess of *Tuscany*. However, this match could not be handsomely concluded, without the agreement of both the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. *Ferdinand* had acquainted with it, *Leon Brulart* Ambassador of *France* at *Venice*, which was the chief motive of his journey to *Milan*. But neither *Brulart* nor *Toledo* gave him any positive answer ; but only they both advised him to do nothing in that matter, without imparting the same to their Masters : and the two Kings were for spinning that business out. They were in hopes that at last the differences between *Savoy* and *Mantua*, would be adjusted by some marriage between the two Families. This gave *Ferdinand* great disquiet ; he had been three years together big with expectation of seeing his quarrels with *Charles Emanuel* happily brought to an end, but he found they were now as great and as difficult as ever they had been. Wherefore *Ferdinand* being grievously incensed against the House of the Duke of *Savoy*, his most dangerous Enemy, he endeavoured therefore to marry as soon as he could, for fear lest they should put him under the necessity of marrying the Widow of Duke *Francis* of *Mantua*, his Brother, Daughter to *Charles Emanuel*. But tho' *Ferdinand* was not at all pleased with the difficulties

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culties the two Crowns made in consenting to his Marriage, yet he was encouraged to bear with it, when he reflected upon the advice that *Don Pedro* gave him, not to grant all that the Duke of *Savoy* pretended to demand in consequence of the Treaty of *Ast*, and the design that the Court of *Madrid* had to compel *Charles Emanuel* to do every thing that his Catholick Majesty should prescribe to him.

Nani Historia

Veneta I. ii.

1616. Siri

Memorie re-

condite. Tom.

iii. p. 409, 410.

But however, the Duke of *Savoy* was not so well pleased with the answer that *Don Pedro* returned to *Parelle*, a Gentleman of his Highness's Bed-chamber, whom he had sent to *Milan*, according to the usual manner of the Princes of *Italy*, to congratulate the new Governoour upon his happy arrival. *Parelle* carried two Letters from his Master, one to compliment him, and the other to demand the entire execution of the Treaty of *Ast*. The *Spaniard*, who wanted neither wit nor politicks, answered him with very kind complements, and most humble thanks, for the Honour the Duke was pleased to bestow upon him; and protested withal, that he would acquaint the Court of *Madrid* with the respect and affection he expressed for the Catholick King. *The true method to enter again into favour with his Majesty, added Don Pedro, is not to think any longer of what was to be done when both Parties had their Swords in their hands.* This ambiguous

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guous answer from the Gouvernour, upon the demand made to him for the execution of a Treaty concluded at the head of both Armies, threw *Charles Emanuel* into a great disorder. The Ambassador of *Venice* took hold of this opportunity, and increased the suspicion of his Highness, by representing to him, that they were redoubling their Forces in the *Milaneze*, that the Duke of *Parma* had made a recruit of four thousand Men; in a word, that the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and Duke *Urbino* had Engaged themselves to assist the King of *Spain* with some of their Regiments.

Mangeant, Envoy from *France* to *Turin*, endeavour'd to remove those fears from *Charles Emanuel*. How can any one imagine, said he, that Philip should break the solemn word he has given to the King my Master? They arm in the *Milaneze*, I grant it. But it is to threaten the Republick, in case they continue to attack the Arch-Duke of *Gratz*. But the mistrustful and clear-sighted Duke could not be persuaded to rely upon such arguments, that were grounded only upon meer probabilities. He was too well informed from good hands of the discourses of *Don Pedro*, who, tho he was a cunning man, yet had discovered himself too openly, unless he did flatter himself that he should bring *Charles Emanuel* to terms by threats. They would do me a kindness to tell me, said the Spaniard, how a Po-

1616. tent King can oblige himself to a Prince inferior to him. His Catholick Majesty will never own any other Laws nor Terms, but such as his moderation shall prescribe to him. If the Duke of Savoy will have recourse to that, he will do well: But if he does insist any longer upon his Treaty of Alt, there will be measures taken to make him sensible, that Clemency is the only thing, capable to set bounds to the Power of a King of Spain, in relation to a Duke of Savoy.

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite. Tom.
iii. pag. 423,
424, 435, 436,
&c.
Nani Historia
Veneta. l. ii.
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It was a long time before the Gover-
nor of Milan sent any body to Turin,
to return an answer to the kind Letter
he had received from *Charles Emanuel*,
because *Don Pedro* would first enter into
some Negotiation. Wherefore it was
proposed to the Duke, to write an hum-
ble and respectful Letter to the King of
Spain. His Highness consented to make
this step, for fear the Princes, who were
Guarantees of the Treaty of *Alt*, should
blame him for carrying it so stiffly to-
wards a Potent King, his Brother-in-law.
The project of this Letter was sent to
Milan, but it did by no means please
Don Pedro; however, he declared that
some body should shortly go from him to
compliment his Highnes, and that then
they should conclude the Negotiation in
hand. Besides, they attempted to flatter
the natural ambition of *Charles Emanuel*,
by insinuating into his Agent, that if
the Duke would yield to give *Philip*
satisfaction, they would assist him in the
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Conquest of the City of *Geneva*. The cunning *Spaniard* offered to bring to his Highnes the best Troops the King his Master had himself, and that he would serve under him in the quality of *Colonel* of a Regiment of Horse. These artifices made the Duke of *Savoy* mad, for those that are the greatest Cheats themselves, cannot endure that others should attempt to cheat them. But *Don Pedro* could hardly be matched with for wickedness; for but a few days before, he had lain a Train to blow up *Charles Emanuel*, and had enticed the Prince of *Piemon* to rise up in Rebellion against his own Father, with fair promises of assisting him with the Forces and the support of *Spain*, in order to get him proclaimed Duke of *Savoy*. The Envoy from the Gouvernour of *Milan* at last arrived at *Turin*. After the usual Ceremonies upon such occasions were past, he proposed to the Duke of *Savoy*, that he should write a much more submissive Letter to the King of *Spain*, to beg his pardon for all that was past, and to renounce the Treaty of *Ast*. But *Charles Emanuel* rejected those unworthy Proposals with a noble Disdain; being resolved to prepare himself for a War in good earnest, and to press for a conclusion of the League, that had been so many times proposed to the Republick of *Venice*.

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France sends
the Count of
Bethunes
Ambassador,
Extraordinary
into Italy, to
adjust the new
troubles.

The Court of *France* was much perplexed at this juncture of Affairs between *Spain* and the Duke of *Savoy*. They could not put any right construction upon the discourses or the proceedings of the Governour of *Milan*. King *Lewis's* Ambassador at *Madrid* had received new orders from his Master, to press *Philip* for putting into execution the Treaty of *Ast*. And *Lenis* expressed himself in the same manner to the Duke of *Monteleon*, Ambassador from *Spain*, then at the Court of *France*, and his Majetty declared, that he would never forsake the Duke of *Savoy*, in case they should attempt to oppreis him. The Catholick King answered them all, that he would observe exactly the Articles agreed upon between him and *France*. But all these fair words did by no means agree with the Remonstrances made at the Court of *France* by the Ministers of *Charles Emanuel*. We are upon the point of a rupiure in Italy, cried they out perpetually: the Spaniards are preparing themselves for a new Irruption in *Piemont*. *Mary de Medicis* was so much the more concerned at it, because the Duke of *Savoy* and the Governour of *Milan* did not agree upon matters of Fact. *Charles Emanuel* protested that he had disarmed according to the Treaty of *Ast*, and *Don Pedro* did aver the contrary. *Mangeant*, Envoy of *France* to *Turin*, received positive orders to inquire exactly about those matters,

Vittorio Sire
Memorie re-
condeite. Tom.
iii. p. 417,
426, 427,
443, 444.
Histoire du
Comte de
Lelarguier.
res. l. 8. ch.
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matters, and to inform the Court concerning the truth of them. And for fear the Duke of Savoy should fancy that *France* would forsake him, the King wrote to him a Letter with his own hand; wherein he assured him of his good intentions; and intreated him to observe exactly all the things that he had promised him; in fine, he promised him his protection, in case the Governour of *Milan* should not perform his Duty.

In the mean time *Don Pedro* sent to *Novarre*, and on the Frontiers of *Piemont*, those Troops which were only appointed (as he would have the World believe) to give umbrage and jealousy to the *Venetians*, in case they shoud refuse to agree with the Arch-duke. *Charles Emanuel*, alarmed at this news, orders new Levies to be raised in several places, and summoned the Mareschal of *Lesdiguières* to send him forthwith his Succours to assist him. The fear the Court of *France* was in, lest the War should break out again in *Italy*, made them resolve immediately to send thither the Count of *Bethunes*, as Envoy Extraordinary, to use all possible means to put an end to these new disorders. *Bethunes* was commanded in his way thither, to confer with the Mareschal of *Lesdiguières*, and prepart him for taking a journey to *Turin*. As that Mareschal had a greater interest than any body else with *Charles Emanuel*, they hoped that he

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1616. might bring them to some reasonable terms, and that the Gouvernour of *Milan* would be afraid, lest *Lesdiguières*, being informed of the truth of the matter, should march the *French* Forces to the assistance of the Duke of *Savoy*, as he was empowered to do by the Treaty of *Aix*, without expecting any further orders from the King his Master.

*The Duke d'Epernon lez
Expedition lez
vingt out of fave
ours, retourné
from the cours.* King *Lewis* arrived at *Tours* towards the latter end of *January*, with a design to continue there to see the event of the Conference appointed at *London* the 10th of *February* following. The Queen Mother was in great danger of losing her life, by an extraordinary accident, most of the Floor of the Room wherein she was, sinking on a sudden; but her Elbow Chair standing by chance upon a Beam that stood fast, her Majesty passed over her Bed, and so got away with safety. The young Count of *Saissons*, the Duke of *Epernon*, *Bassompierre*, and several other eminent persons, distinguished either by their Births or by their Employments, fell down, and did much hurt themselves; *Mary de Medicis* sent to them all to condole their misfortune, except the Duke of *Epernon*, tho' he had received more hurt than any of the rest. Was it slight? Was it anger? However, such a publick sign of alteration in the Queen as to him, fully persuaded *Epernon* that his disgrace was resolved on, and that *Conchini* and *Galigai* had prevailed.

*The Life of
the Duke of
Epernon, l.vii.
Mercure Fran-
çais, 1616.*

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vailed with *Mary de Medicis* to sacrifice him to the relentiment of the Prince of *Conde*, who was not able to bear with him any longer. The refusal of some favours, which the Duke had earnestly sollicited for his Friends, had already made him sensible, he was not so well regarded at Court as he had been. *Epron* complained of it, with his usual heat of spirit; but the Queen, who kept then no measure with him, took occasion from his being so loud against her, not to call him any more to her Council. This last mark of the ill affection, or indifferency of the Queen, was enough to put the patience of a man, that wou'd have valued honor and distinction, less than he did, upon the utmost Tenter; Wherefore the Duke resolved to prevent the mortifying orders of being forbidden the Court, by a voluntary retirement.

One Article proposed by the Prince of *Conde* in the Conference at *Loudun*, which the Queen it seems was willing to pass, served further to hasten the departure of this haughty Duke. His Highness, and the Lords of his Party, demanded that the Regiment of the Life Guards might be wholly dependent on the King, and that his Majesty only should name the Collonel and the Captains. The Court made no difficulty in passing an Article which was so advantageous to the King, and which did so much lessen the authority

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rity of *Epernon*, Collonel General of the Foot, to whom they were glad to give any disturbance. Wherefore, upon the whole, he took leave of all his Friends, in declaiming with great sharpness and asperity, against the injustice that was done him, as well as against the ingratitude of the Queen, who so ill requited his many and important services. He would pay no Respects at all to those whom he suspected to be his secret Enemies, how distinguished soever they were, either by their Birth, Quality or Interest. The Duke did not matter how he provoked them further against him; but he fancied that he should revenge himself of the ill offices they had done him, by insulting them w^th a noble scorn and indignation. *Epernon*, says the Writer of his Life, neither did, nor would ever follow those shameful Maxims of the Court, whereby men are taught to dissemble their resentments, and servilely to fawn upon, and give those thanks for the wrongs they have done one. A stoical insensibility seemed to him to be very much out of season, perswaded as he was that a regret for having lost all his services, was not unworthy of a noble heart. When he took his leave of the King and Queen, their Majesties shewed that they had a great esteem for him. *Mary de Medicis* alone received his compliments with an affected coldness and indifference. The indignatio: which

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a Treatment so little deserved raised in the Duke, did not however make him forget the Respect that was due to a Sovereign Prince. Yet he very well understood how properly to re-assume all his Courage, and make the ungrateful Queen sensible, that perhaps a day might come, when she should be under necessity of having recourse to him.

I know not whether the anger that *Epernon* had against the Court, did not serve to make him bear with less impatience, the displeasure which his eldest Son, the Count of *Candale* gave him, by appearing at the Conference of *Loudun*, and uniting his Interest to that of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Lords of the Reformed Religion. His Highness had invited them by his Circular Letters to come to the Conference, and *Candale*, a new Reformed Christian, met there with the rest. This famous Conference was opened the 10th of February, where the Prince of *Conde* promised to let France know, that he had no other design than the good and tranquility of his Country. His Highness spoke thus to the Duke of *Roban*, who tells us himself, that *Conde* and his most trusty Friends, concerned themselves more with their own private Interests than the publick Good. The Counts of *Soissons*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshal of *Brissac*, *Villeroy*, and *Ponchartrain*, both Secretaries of State, the President *de Thou*, and *de Vic*, Councillour of State,

*The opening
the Conference
at Loudun.*

*Memoires de
la Regence &
Mary de M
dicis.*

*Mercure Fra
cois, 1616.*

had

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had a Commission to act in the name of the King. The Prince of Conde came himself in person, accompanied with the Prince's his Mother, the Dutches Dowager of Longueville, the Dukes of Mayenne, Vendome, Longueville, Rohan, Luxembourg, Tremouille, Sully, the Mareschal of Bassignon, the Count of Candale, and the Deputies of the Assembly of the Reformed Churches. The King had translated it from *Nismes*, to *Rochelle*: and that was the Expedient found out for making it a lawful Assembly.

Edmund, Ambassador from the King of Great Britain, was likewise present at the Conference, and there performed the functions of a Mediator, tho he had not that Title: for in short, he negotiated on both sides, to try if he could bring them to a happy conclusion and agreement. An Historian declaims much against the admittance of a Foreign Ambassador to that Conference. It was, if we will believe him, the greatest indignity in the world, a wicked attempt against the Majesty of a Sovereign; which was imputed to the Reformed Party, who obstinately insisted, that this *Edmund* should be present at *Loudun*. But did not the Prince of Conde know as well as this Writer the Rights of Sovereigns over their Subjects? His Highness had demanded as a Preliminary of the Conferences, that the Ambassador of England might

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might be allowed to meet there as a witness. The King himself had given his consent, that *Edmund* should assist there in the name of his Master, to dispose the Prince of *Conde* to sue his Majesty for a Peace. After all, what great inconveniency was there in this, for a neighbouring Prince to make use of his Interest for reconciling Subjects at difference with their King, provided the rules of decency between the Sovereign and the Subjects be exactly observed during the whole course and progress, and at the conclusion of the Negotiation?

At first, *Villeroy* strenuously apply'd himself to divide the Lords of the Prince of *Conde's* Party, and to gain over the Prince, by promising him great advantages from *Mary de Medicis*, who was always ready to bestow every thing, provided she might quietly enjoy the Authority that the King her Son had entrusted her with. The old and crafty Courtier met with the success his Intrigues aimed at. The Prince, allured by the hopes of changing the order of the Council of State, and that of the Treasury, and putting his own Friends and Creatures into the places of those who did not please him, he resolved immediately to conclude the Peace. The Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Mareschal of *Bonillon*, persuaded that the Peace would be more advantageous for them than the

*A Division
between the
Lords of Con-
de's Party.*

*Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Me-
dicis.*

*Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite. Tom.
iii. pag. 447.
448, 449.*

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1616. continuance of the War, endeavoured to make good the arguments that *Villeroy* had alledged to prevail with *Conde*. However, the Duke of *Longueville* was still to be brought over, and none could tell how to extricate him out of it. *Longueville* had the same reasons as *Mayenne* to wish for the Peace. His Government of *Picardy* and his great Territories, were also further off from *Guienne*, which was to be the Seat of the War, than *l' Isle de France*, the Government whereof *Mayenne* was afraid to lose. The Mareschal *d' Ancre*, Master of the Citadel of *Amiens*, and many others of great importance in *Picardy*, seemed powerful enough to take away the whole Province from *Longueville*. But when the Duke came to consider that matters being adjusted, *Conchini* his Enemy, supported by the Queen Mother, might shortly ruin the Interest and Authority he enjoy'd by his Government, he preferred the continuance of the War, till the Queen Mother could be constrained to sacrifice her Mareschal *d' Ancre*. Wherefore, for fear lest they should disoblige a Lord so very powerful, both by his great Estate, and his Alliances with some Families of the first rank in the Kingdom, *Conde* made *Longueville* to hope, that by an Article of the Treaty, the Citadel of *Amiens* should be demolished, or else that *Conchini* should quit the Government of that place to some

some person that should be acceptable to the King. This might have been sufficient to calm the mind of the Duke, but he could hardly perswade himself, that they should obtain such an Article from *Mary de Medicis*, because she was then more fond of *Galigai* and her Husband than ever she had been.

The Dukes of *Vendome*, *Rohan* and *Sully*, joyned to the Reformed, were not for the Peace, but upon conditions advantageous to the Protestant Party, and to curb that boundless Authority, which the Kings of *France* have at last unjustly usurped upon their Subjects. *Rohan* with very cogent arguments, represented to the Prince of *Condé* the strength of the Party that his Highness had formed, and that by continuing in *Guienne*, he should easily maintain himself in his Power and Authority, which would visibly encrease every day. *By the Peace, you will lose in a moment*, said the Duke to the Prince, *all those advantages obtained with so much labour and application. This is the Mark the Queen Mother aims to hit. Do you think, Sir, that being delivered from the disquiet which you give her at present, she will perform the fair promises that is made to you from her Party? You will be at Court in her hands, that is, under her power and influence; there you will be narrowly watch'd; and as soon as ever you shall make but a suspected false step, they will think themselves obliged to execute a Prince*

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who has twice already taken up Arms against them. The small hopes that your Highness flatters your self with, of enriching your Family, and getting some Money out of the King's Treasury, ought this to prevail over that great number of Friends you are now going to forsake, and over the Authority that you enjoy by so many men strictly united to you by the Interest of their own Fortunes, their Tranquility and their Religion? Think on it seriously, Sir, they are hard at work, labouring to make you lose an opportunity which you will never meet with again.

How powerful soever these judicious Arguments of the Duke of Rokan were, yet they had not force enough to make any impression upon the Prince's mind. He was so enchanted with the deceitful and uncertain advantages the Court offered him, that Conde was not able to reflect upon the solid reason alledged by that great man, for the healing him of all his prejudices. His Confidants and his Favourite entertained him with an agreeable error, being perswaded that the surest way to please the Queen Mother, and advance their own Interests at Court, was to bring over the Prince to an accommodation with her. His Head being touched, his extravagance went so far, that to shew the world he was resolved for the future to renounce all Factions, he offered to quit his Government of Guienne, and in exchange to

1616.

to take up with that of *Berry*; A Province of no strength, and not far off from *Paris*, where his Highness would be sure to give no more jealousy and umbrage to the Queen Mother. And because *Rochefort* his Favourite had his Estate and his Relations in that Neighbourhood, it was generally reported, that he had instilled this ridiculous and imprudent resolution into *Conde's* mind. Princes who will have Favourites, do often expose themselves to commit such like faults. These Gentlemen commonly prefer their own conveniences to the service of their Masters. The Conference of *London* went on but slowly, and met with more difficulty than it was thought at first it would have done, because of the several designs and interests of the Lords of his Highnesses party. The Negotiation held out near three months, and the suspension of Arms was several times renewed.

Villeroy was not so much engaged in the affairs of the Queen Mother, but that he was mindful of his own. The Marechal *d'Ancre* hated all the old Ministers of State: And was contriving how to remove them from the Court one after another. *Villeroy* would with all his heart have assisted him to ruin the Chancellour *Silleri*, but he pretended at the same time he should keep his employments and his credit; being persuaded, that by a little managing of the Prince of *Conde*,

An insignificant Artifice in Chancellor Silleri, to preserve himself by means of the Prince of Conde.

1616. *de*, he should maintain himself against the efforts of *Conchini*. The Secretary of State watched only for an opportunity to engage his Highness always to insist upon the removal of the Chancellour, whom *Galigai* had brought under the suspicion of the Queen Mother. It was not a hard task for *Villeroy* to bring this his design about. *Silleri* being ambitious and imprudent, furnished his Enemies with matter enough himself utterly to ruin him: For tho the Prince of *Conde* was as great an Enemy to him as the Marechal d' *Ancre*, yet he fancied, that by reconciling himself to his Highness, he might be able to keep his post against *Conchini*. Wherefore he forthwith offered his service to the Prince, to the Marechal of *Bonillon*, and to the most intimate of his Highness's Friends. He entirely devoted himself to the Prince of *Conde*, provided that by an Article of the Treaty already on foot at *Loudun*, his Highness would please to get that the Chancellour should be kept in his Employment. When men will become so humble and so creeping, they at last make themselves contemptible every way. *Conde* and *Bonillon* slighted this Magistrate, who, to support his tottering Fortune, did implore the protection of those very men, who had declared him in their Manifesto, to be the contriver of all the Abuses and Grievances which they had demanded a Reformation

*Journal of
Bassempierre.*

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tion of. What opinion then had the Chancellor of the heart and mind of the Prince of *Conde*? His Highness had taken up Arms to have *Silleri* removed, as the most unworthy Magistrate that ever was: and now this very man desires that it may be enacted in the Treaty of Peace, that he should be continued in his Employment. *Conde* and *Bouillon* did pais many scomms upon the meanness and folly of the Chancellour, when they met with *Villeroy* his Enemy: and the subtle Courtier did work so far upon *Pontchartrain*, his Colleague, as to get him to acquaint the Queen Mother with *Sillon*'s rare contrivance and project.

She maliciously spoke of it to *Bassompierre*. *Mary de Medicis* knew very well that this other sort of a Courtier, who made it his utmost business to serve all Mankind, in order to gain him Friends every where, would not fail to ask her leave to acquaint the Chancellour with the ill offices his Enemies had done him to her Majesty. After some difficulties, made (meerly for fashion and form sake) the permission he demanded was granted to him. The Queen Mother, who at that time hated *Silleri*, was overjoy'd with her being able to load him with shame, in shewing him that his Plot had taken Air. Whenever an ambitious man is upon the brink of a Precipice, a little tiling will turn his head. Vexation, Despite

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Despite and Jealousy, make him put a wrong construction upon every thing. *Silleri*, instead of receiving kindly the advice that *Bassompierre* had given him, fancied that it was even *Bassompierre* himself that had endeavoured to blacken him to *Mary d: Medicis*. *I am mightily obliged to you, Sir, for the advertisements I have received from you*, said the Chancellour to *Bassompierre* in the Queen's Chamber, *but some would fain persuade me to believe that it was from your own self the Queen received the Intelligencer*, which you have now told me, *tho I will not believe it*. *Sir*, answered *Bassompierre* very blufly, *(who was amazed at such a return of thanks) I shall shortly convince you that I am not so bad a man as you are pleased to suppose me to be. The Queen will tell you herself who wrote to her the News, which you imagine to be of my own contrivance*.

Whereupon *Silleri* conjured *Bassompierre*, in the most humble and pressing manner imaginable, not to insist further upon that business, but to keep it private from the Queen Mother. *You will ruin me, Sir*, said the Chancellour, *and therefore take pity of a man whom you know but too many already endeavour to undo, after so long services*. Whilst they were thus discoursing, *Mary de Medicis* was making up to them, to know what was the occasion of their dispute. *Madam*, said then *Bassompierre* in a passion,

sion, I stand in need of your Majesty's Testimony to support my Reputation with the Chancellour. I have told him, (and I most humbly beg your pardon for so doing) that some have informed you of certain paces he has made, which do not answer the good opinion you may have of his Integrity. He thinks that the News is of my own contrivance, and yet for all that I will needs pretend to deserve well from him, for giving him notice like a Friend, of the bad offices which I myself have done him. M. Chancellour, reply'd the Queen Mother with a scornful smile, methinks you make but small returns to Bassompierre, for the services he has endeavoured to do you. Know then, that this business comes from Bouillon, who acquainted Pontchartrain with it. I told it to Bassompierre, and he begged my permission to acquaint you with it. These words did mightily confound the Chancellour, so that all he could do or say, to palliate his base Artifices, seemed very weak and frivolous. Madam, said he to the Queen, The Mareschal of Bouillon has been this long time my professed Enemy; I most humbly beseech your Majesty, not to give any credit to what he has caused to be written to you with a design to ruin me. The Courtiers did Justice to the Mareschal de Bouillon; for there was no likelihood that a man of his quality and reputation would cast so black a calumny upon the Chancellour, whereof he might easily clear himself. It

was

was therefore from that time the general belief that *Silleri* was utterly lost, and that he could not continue long in his place.

Articles presented by the Prince of Conde in the Conference at Loudun.

Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.

Mercure Francois, 1616.

In the mean while the Prince of *Conde* had presented thir'y Articles to the King's Commissioners at the Conference of *Loudun*. And after some Negotiations, some of these Articles were granted, and some were put off; and others, with some alterations and amendments were agreed unto by the Court. *Conde* had digested those Articles with great dexterity, in order to deceive the people, and to perswade them, that the whole bent of his Highness's heart and thoughts was for the publick good. First of all the Prince demanded, that an exact and speedy enquiry should be made after those who had been any ways concerned in the death of the late King, and that the Bishops should be ordered forthwith to publish the Canon of the Council of *Constance*, and the Decree of the Faculty of *Paris*, against all those who should presume to attempt any thing upon the King's person. And it was further declared, that such had all along been the intention of his Majesty.

It was not so with the two following Articles, which required that the Article of the *Third State*, concerning the security of the King's person, and the Independency of his Crown, might be granted, and that all necessary things in

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order to its observation might be dispatched, that his Majesty would please to order the superceding of the Decrees, which the Parliament of *Paris* had made relating to the same, to be taken off; in a word, that those Decrees might be solemnly renewed, and all the Declarations made and sent out of the Kingdom, to the prejudice of the safety of the King's person, and the maintaining of his Sovereign Authority, might be declared null and void, and contrary to the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. As to the Article concerning the *Third State*, it was answered, that his Majesty would provide for it with the advice of the Princes of his Blood, the Dukes and Peers of *France*, the Officers of the Crown, the Chief Ministers of his Council, and some Members of the Parliament whom he would call, to take into consideration the *Cahiers* presented to him by the States General. But as to what concerned the superceding of some Decrees of the Parliament of *Paris*, it was answer'd, that after a mature deliberation in the King's Council, they had been so ordered, to the end a good correspondence might be kept with the Pope, who had been provoked at those Decrees; and that the King had never made any Declaration contrary or prejudicial to his Sovereign Authority, or to the Independency of his Crown. Thus these two Articles, so often proposed and debated,

1616. bated, were still shifted off in compliance with the Court of *Rome*. The Prince of *Conde* was so far led by a true Catholick Zeal, and his Devotion so fervent, that he went about visiting the Chappels dedicated to the miraculous Images of the Virgin *Mary*, such as is that of *Ardilliers* at *Sauvur*, wherefore his Highness would not insist too much upon any thing that he found so displeasing to the Pope. The Court of *Rome* had been too highly provoked by the union of this Prince with the Reformed, in somuch, that his devout Pilgrimages had not yet taken off the ill impressions which his Manifesto's and his Declarations, published in the behalf of the pretended *Hereticks*, had wrought upon the mind of the Holy Father.

The Court made no very great opposition against some other Articles, whereby his Highness demanded the preservation of the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, the annulling of what the Clergy had undertaken, for the publication of the Council of *Trent*, the exact keeping of the Edicts of *Pacification*, and of all that had been since granted to the Reformed, the preserving of the Authority and Jurisdiction of the Soveraign Courts, the regulation of the whole Body of *Gendarmes*, according to the ancient Statutes, and the abatement of real and personal Taxes, called *Tailles*. But, besides that, all these things were only

*The Life of
M. du Plessis
Morpai. I. iii.
Letters and
Memoirs by
the same,
1616.*

only granted in very general terms, it was the common opinion, that the Prince being contented with the best part of fifteen hundred thousand Livres allowed for the charges of the War, he would not be too pressing for the exact performance of the Articles which concerned the publick good.

The Lords of the House of *Courtenay* having readily followed *Conde's* Party, he thought himself bound in gratitude to pay them his acknowledgment for the same, by demanding that *Right should be done them according to the Order and Laws of the Kingdom*, pursuant to the Petitions they had so frequently presented for keeping up the Honour of their Family. This was a nice point: for in short, those Gentlemen pretend to be Princes of the Blood. And they have printed a very considerable Volume, to make it out that they are descendants from the last Son of *Lewis VI.* surnamed the *Gros*. But all the world does not comply with it. The common opinion is, that they ought to content themselves with being looked upon as a Branch of the ancient Family of *Courtenay*, a Cadette, of whom, being an Heireis, a Son of *France* marry'd. The King's Commissioners answered to this Article, *That his Majesty should be acquainted therewith*, and so this business stuck there.

It had been set forth by the Prince of *Conde's* Manifesto's, that they had taken

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up Arms for the asserting the Justice of the Remonstrances, which the Parliament of *Paris* had made to the King, and also for the obtaining just and favourable answers to the Memorials presented to his Majesty by the Assembly of the States General. Twas this step that engaged his Highness to insist upon those two points in some of his Articles. But they were eluded, by only saying that the King would provide for them three months after the publication of the Treaty. The Court came off by the same trick likewise as to the other Article, whereby the Prince demanded the suppression of the *Paulette*, and the Sale of the Offices : The King having given the annual Duty to the Officers for three years, after the breaking up of the States General ; it was answered, that this Article should be performed, so soon as ever the term granted by his Majesty should be expired. The Court of *France* is very ready to make fair promises, but not to over-hasty to put them in execution ; and therefore in the mean while, they are studying to find out some reasons, (whether good or bad, is not so much to the purpose) how they may get over their before-hand engagements, without performing one tittle of them.

The Prince demanded in another Article, That according to the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, no stranger should be admitted to any place under the Crown,

to the Governments of Provinces or Towns, to Ecclesiastical Dignities, nor indeed to any publick Offices in the Kingdom, no, not so much as in the King and Queen's Palaces. This Article concerned the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, whom *Conde* and the Lords of his Party had resolved to remove from the Court. But notwithstanding he was mightily supported by *Mary de Meditis*, yet the cunning *Italian* had secretly laboured to establish himself (at the ruin of the Duke *d' Epernon* and the Chancellour *Silleri*) with the Prince of *Conde*, and his most intimate Friends and Confidants, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Mareschal *de Bouillon*. However, it was necessary for the Court to find out some expedient to save *Conchini*, for indeed the Article was so fully grounded on the Law, that they could not decline the passing of it: Wherefore the King's Commissioners answered, that his Majesty kept to himself the power of rewarding all sort of persons, according to their Merits, Services and Qualities.

These Articles were easily enough got over, for *Conde* did not much trouble his head about pressing the execution of them. But they were a long while debating about the other two, which related to the Authority the Prince pretended to have in the Councils, and the satisfaction the Duke *de Longueville* demanded to be given him concerning the

*The perplexity
of the Queen
Mother con-
cerning two
private claims
of the Prince
of Conde, and
the Duke of
Longueville.
Journal de
Bassompierre.*

1616. Citadel of *Amiens*, the Government of which had been committed to his Enemy the Mareschal *d'Ancre*. First of all, *Conde* proposed that the place should be demolished, but the Queen Mother would by no means consent to that. They then demanded that the Government of it should be taken from *Conchini*, and that the King should bestow it upon some other person more acceptable to him. *Villeroy* gave a hint, that the Affairs might by that way be more easily accommodated, and he promised to go to *Tours*, to try if he could incline *Mary de Medicis* to hearken to some reasonable

Memoires of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.

terms about the Mareschal *de Ancre's* Interest, which she still espoused with all her might. There also was another thing set on foot, of much greater nicety, and which seemed to tend extreamly to the lessening of the Authority of the Queen Mother. *Conde* would fain have

Vittorio Siri Memorie recendite Tom. iii. pag. 448, 449, 450.

made himself the head of the King's Councils, to sign all the Decrees that should be dispatched, the account of the Kings Treasury, and whatever should be weekly resolved on concerning the Finances. In a word, the Prince demanded the whole Ministry. *Villeroy* gave him to understand, that the thing was very feasible, and took upon him to propose it to the Queen Mother, so soon as ever he should get to *Tours*.

Whether *Pontchartrain* had any design to prejudice *Villeroy*, or whether he thought

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thought himself obliged to give intelligence of all that had passed, is hard to say, but he forthwith wrote to *Mary de Medicis*, and acquainted her with the two things the Prince had demanded, both for himself and the Duke *de Longueville*. I do not know whether *Pontchartrain* did not insinuate into the Queen Mother, as if *Villeroy* made a sacrifice of her Majesty's Interests, to the desire he had of advancing himself still further into the favour of the Prince of *Conde*, and the *Mareschal de Bouillon*. However, *Mary de Medicis* seemed very much dissatisfied with *Villeroy*. Sometimes she declaimed against the inactivity of that old Minister of State; another while she fancied that *Villeroy* was overjoy'd in doing any mischief to the *Mareschal d' Ancre*, who hated him. At last, said *Mary de Medicis* to *Barbin* her Steward, (a vile Creature of *Conchonni's*) and to *Bassompierre*, who happened to be there with her Majesty, *I was just now informed that M. de Villeroy has kept my Pocket, and he comes himself to bring it to me.* The Queen Mother having acquainted them with the two new demands the Prince had made, she added, that it was a trick of *Villeroy's* contrivance, on purpose to plague the *Mareschal d' Ancre*, and thereby to screw himself into the Prince of *Conde's* favour.

Barbin, who was no stranger to *Conchini*'s passion to ruin *Villeroy*, confirmed *Mary de Medicis* in all her suspicions, and told whatever he thought most likely to enrage her against the wisest of all the Ministers of State. But whilst *Barbin* was thus harranguing according to the best of his art and skill, some came in to acquaint the Queen that *Villeroy* was in the Anti-chamber, and desired Audience of her Majesty. *Madam*, said *Barbin* to her immediately, bear him, but let it be without emotion, and ask him coldly his advice what it is he would propose to have you do. If he advises you to give your consent to it, then he will fully discover himself to you: And you will no longer need to doubt, but that he is more inclined to the Prince's Interest, than to your Majesty's. But if he is of opinion that you ought not to accept those proposals, then you may boldly declare before the Council, that it was *M. de Villeroy* who persuaded you to reject them. And then he will lose all his Credit with his good Friend the *Mareschal de Bouillon*, who will never forgive his having dissuaded you from complying with the Prince. *Mary de Medicis* was insightly pleased with this contrivance, and ordered *Villeroy* to be called in, being resolv'd to make use of it. What strange situation is that of a Minister of State, to a timorous Woman that is full of Jealousy! At the same tune he thinks he serves her to the best of her ad-

advantage, she fancies that he is labouring to surprize or to betray her ; and if she asks him his advice upon some great Emergencies, 'tis only to get him to fall into the snare that his Enemies have suggested to her to lay for his ruin.

Poor man, said the Queen Mother, directing her discourse to *Villeroy*, in the presence of *Bassompierre* and *Barbin*, whom she retained on purpose to be witnesses of all that should pass betwixt them, *you give your self a great deal of trouble* : and after all, perhaps *you will not be able to obtain any thing either for your self or us*. Well ; You are now come to bring me the last result of your Negotiation with the Prince ? He will be Regent of the Kingdom, and demands the Pen. *M. de Longueville designs to be Gouvernour of Picardy, and the Mareschal d' Ancre must be removed from thence*. This is what you have to propose unto me, *Pontchartrain in a Letter has already acquainted me with it*. What do you think of all this ? Ought I to grant these new demands that are made me ? Tell me freely your opinion about it. I would be well prepared before I inform the Council with it, as I am to do presently. This Cunning and able Courtier, with what modesty he could, endeavoured to excuse himself, and humbly besought the Queen to put off the further debate of it till the Council met. There I will speak, you shall see, Madam, according as my conscience shall direct me, added he,

and I hope that God will inspire me with that which shall be most for the service of the King and the good of the Kingdom. The Queen having again earnestly pressed Villeroy to give her his thoughts about it, he found himself then obliged to obey her. I will then tell you, Madam, said he, since you command it from me; I only beg your Majesty's favour to hear me till I have concluded my discourse. I always thought that the Prince and his Friends would have still some Article to propose, after all the others should be agreed upon and settled. They labour to embarrass you. For in short, if your Majesty refuses what they now demand of you, they will publish it to all the World, that you have more regard to your own private Interests, than to the Repose of France, and that you have broke off the Treaty, which was almost concluded, so soon as ever you were intreated to abate any thing that personally concerned you. But 'tis an easy matter to make all these Artifices signify little or nothing. What they propose is not of such mighty consequence, but that your Majesty may well enough grant it. They desire that the Mareschal d' Ancre may no longer Command in the Capital of the Province, of which the Duke de Longueville is Governour. But they do not insist with your Majesty, that you shall not give the Government of any other place to the Mareschal, or that you shall not reward him in any other way. You may remove him to some better place, and

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Book VIII. LEWIS XIII.

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and commit the Town and Citadel of Amiens to the trust of a person who shall only depend upon your Majesty. However, it is an easie matter to give the Government of Normandy to the Duke de Longueville, in lieu of that of Picardy. And he will not much trouble himself about who shall command in Amiens, when he shall be Gouvernour of another Province. It is the Marshals Interest to let the world see that the consideration of his own Fortune shall never be an obstacle to the publick Peace. He will be the more respected and valued for having sacrificed anything for the Weal and Repose of the Kingdom. And your Majesty will shew (which will be no dear bargain for you) that you prefer the publick good to the Fortune of your own Servants and Creatures.

What the Prince demands for himself, continued Villeroi, may be granted likewise, your Majesty will reap advantage by it: And these are the reasons upon which I ground my assertion. If the Prince does not come to Court, he will demand nothing, and then you will not be obliged to give him anything. If he comes there with a design to live in good correspondence with your Majesty, then you will lose a dangerous Enemy, and gain over the first Prince of the Blood, whose Presence and Authority will still add a greater weight to every thing you shall hereafter cause to be ordered in the Council. There he will hold the Pen. What have you to be afraid of, if at the same time you hold his arm? If the Prince does continue his Intrigues, if he encroaches

1616. upon your Authority, and will labour to share it with you, he will be in your hands at Court, and you may have a thousand ways to break his measures. *Mary de Medicis* appear'd to be convinc'd by these arguments, or at least she pretended to be so. And *Barbin* shewed himself so exceedingly pleased with them, that forgetting the respect due to his Mistress, he took her by the arm, and holding it pretty hard, said, *Madam, better advice cannot be given your Majesty, there is nothing else to be done.* *M. de Villeroy* is the ablest man in the world. *Bassompierre* was surprized at the sudden change of *Barbin's* mind. Did not this Creature, who was wholly devoted to the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, abominably dissemble? He fancied perhaps that the Queen would put that untoward construction upon *Villeroy's* discourse, which he had before-hand insinuated to her Majesty.

Mary de Medicis
resolves to
conclude the
Treaty with
the Prince of
Conde.

If this was *Barbin's* intent on, he was strangely mistaken. For *Mary de Medicis* having assembled an Extraordinary Council, *Villeroy* gave them there the new Proposals of the Prince of Conde. Every one in the Council shewed already by their countenance, that they did not think them fit to be received; but the Queen Mother, without tarrying for their opinions, declared, that she would grant them all. *If I have disputed some of the Articles proposed by the Prince, said Mary de Medicis, it has been only for the King's*

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King's Interest, and for the good of the Kingdom, which I prefer to all things. Thanks be to God, matters have succeeded according to my wishes. I can give Peace to France, by abating somewhat that relates to my own private Interests, and by taking away from my Servants some few gratifications I have made to them. I do therefore joyfully sacrifice that which I could justly keep, and I believe that the Mareschal d' Ancre is of the same disposition. It is needless therefore to ask your opinions. M. de Villeroy may return to morrow to Loudun, and tell the Prince that I accept of his two new Articles, in the same form he has presented them.

When the Duke de Mayenne and the Mareschal de Bouillon had very near obtained all that they demanded, they then laboured hard to prevail with the other Lords, and the Assembly of the Reformed at Rochel, to accept of the conditions of the Treaty. All imaginable Artifices were employ'd about it. But the Assembly was so fixed in their resolutions, and the other Lords acted so unanimously in concert with them, that the Mareschal de Bouillon and the Duke de Mayenne, would have met with invincible difficulties, had not the Prince of Conde fell dangerously ill at that time. This accident astonished all those that were of his party. Every one cried out that this must needs put an end to the Treaty forthwith. Edmund, Ambassador from England, and the Duke de

Sully,

Some difficulties about obtaining the consent of some Lords and the Assembly of Rochel for the Treaty of Loudun.

Memoires de Rohan l. 1.

The Life of M. du Plessis

Mornai. l. iii

1616. *Sully*, both went to *Rochel*, and there represented to the Assembly, that the unhappy Conjunction of Affairs required them all speedily to agree. The illness of the Prince, the just reasons they had to apprehend that his Enemies would be plotting how to take him off, the division that was among the great Lords; all these considerations together, did prevail with the Assembly to send ten men to *Londun*, to whom they gave full power to waive all their former demands, which might be likely to retard the conclusion of the Treaty, and to keep only to the dispatch of what was necessary for the security of those Articles that were granted.

The unhappy dissolution of the Assembly of *Sauur*, was one powerful argument to the Reformed, for insisting upon the continuance of that of *Rochel*, until the performance of some other stipulated Conditions in the Treaty. The Kings Commissioners, encouraged by some men, who privately assured them, that in case the Assembly should refuse to comply with the Articles agreed upon with the Prince of *Conde*, they should be left out: The Commissioners, I say, obstinately insisted upon this, that the Assembly should be dissolved immediately after the signing of the Treaty. This difficulty would have broke off the Negotiation, had not the Duke *de Sully*, (a man well skill'd in finding out Expedients,

ents, as most of those are who have been long at the helm of Affairs) proposed one, which was agreed to by the King's Commissioners. This Expedient was, that the Assembly should continue sitting six weeks after the signing of the Peace, that the Edict should be ratify'd, confirm'd and verify'd, and his Majesty should order that all things necessary for the security of the Reformed, should be put in execution before the time pre-fixed should be expired. The Dukes *de Roban* and *Sully*, *Soubize* and *Candale*, wrote such prevailing Letters to *Rochel*, that the Assembly at last consented to what *Sully* had proposed. They only desired that some Expressions in the writing (the project whereof had been communicated to *Sully*) might be altered. The Deputies at *Loudun* received still some larger powers. They promised to ratify all that they should do in concert with the Protestant Lords. The Duke *de Sully* was exceedingly pleased that his Expedient had taken so well, and went to the King's Commissioners to conclude the Affair; but these Gentlemen had no such honest intentions; they embarras'd every thing anew, and made such great alterations in the draught of the Writing, that it became quite another thing, insomuch, that *Sully* being discontented at this strange proceeding, resolved to retire, and protest that he would no longer concern himself in the matter.

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The Prince of Conde, impatient to get himself out of all these perplexities, sent for the Lords of his Party, to persuade them to sign the Peace. He was still so weak, that he was not able to hear read what they had set down in writing, nor to comprehend the difficulties which yet were to be overcome. His Highness sent for the Duke de Sully and Villeroy, one after the other, and would know of the former, what it was that put a stop to the

*Memoires de Rohan 1. i.
Gramond Historiarum Galliae. 1. ii.*

designing of the Treaty, and demanded of the other what the Court had yielded to. After his Highness had whispered some words into the ear of the Duke, and the Minister of State, he declared in the presence of them all, that Villeroy had accepted of the Writing, in the very same manner and form as it had been drawn up in concert with the Duke de Sully, and that every one ought to be satisfied with it. So that without hearkening to any Remonstrance, or waiting for the answer the Assembly of Rochel would have made him, Conde took forthwith his Pen in his hand and signed the Treaty. The Mareschal de Bouillon desired that the Ambassador of England might sign it next. 'Tis unknown whether Bouillon had a mind only to court the King of Great Britain, or whether he fancy'd that upon the Ambassador's signing the Treaty, the King his Master would be thereby acknowledged Mediator and Guarantee of it. However it was, Villeroy

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leroy strenuously opposed the Mareschal's demand. *Hnour and Decency*, said he, do not permit a King to consent, that the Minister of a Foreign Prince should sign a Treaty of Accommodation between a Sovereign and his Subjects, concerning any Domestic Affairs.

The great precipitation the Prince of Conde shewed in signing the Treaty, occasioned very high murmurings. Some of the Lords, as well as the Reformed saw, that they were forsaken by the first promoters of the War. But then the fire of Indignation broke out as soon as ever they heard the Mareschal *de Bouillon* declaiming against those that had been deputed by the Assembly, for having complained of his Highness in that he had signed the Treaty, before their Affairs were brought to a Conclusion. *Bouillon* did bravely to treat them as Rebels; but he was no longer the same man he had been, when he so vigorously encouraged those of his own Religion to joyn themselves with the Prince of Conde, promising them that his Highness should obtain most wonderful things for them. But behold the Mountain; he is now offering himself to be at the head of that Army which the King should send to reduce them, and openly declares that he will look upon all those as Enemies of the Kingdom, who shall refuse to sign the Treaty under any pretence whatsoever. The Mareschal, blinded with

1616. with his own ambition, laboured with all imaginable zeal, to set as high a value as he could upon the service he was going to render to *Mary de Medicis*, in getting her handsomly off from a very troublesome Affair, and he could not perceive that he was all the time destroying his Credit and Reputation among the Protestants, of whom his Family stood in need for the support of themselves. Could a man of his great abilities imagine, that the Queen Mother would ever be so imprudent as to trust a Lord, whose proceedings were so well known to her? yet notwithstanding, neither the menaces of *Bouillon*, nor those of the King's Commissioners, were able to work either upon the other Reformed Lords, or the Deputies of the Assembly. And the Dispute grew so warm, that the Prince found himself mightily incommoded by it; wherefore the Company retired to the Countys of *Soissons*, where those that were of a calmer temper, agreed upon the Articles that had been debated with so much warmth on both sides. But, to avoid all disputes that were on foot, each Lord ratify'd the Treaty in a particular Writing of his own: And none, besides the Deputies of the Assembly, signed the Act which the Prince of *Conde* had set his name to.

Bouillon did also another thing very unworthy a man of his parts and quality,

lity. Being wholly bent upon the advancing of himself in the favour of the Court, he prevailed with the young Duke *de la Tremouille*, to sign joyntly with him a Writing, that was delivered into the hands of the King's Commissioners; whereby *Bonillon* and *la Tremouille*, engaged themselves to *fall upon* the Assembly, and all those that should stand by them, in case they did not break up within the six weeks, as his Majesty had given them. Some days before the conclusion of this Peace, a new union was proposed in the Prince's Council, among the Lords of his Party, to wit, that two of those Lords should alternatively continue near the King, to observe what should pass at Court, and so to inform those of it that should be in their own Countries, or in their respective Governments; and that in case the Court should attempt any thing against any of them in his private person, all the rest should be engaged to maintain his Interests. *The time is not yet proper*, said the Mareschal *de Bonillon*, *for such a Proposal*. This subtle Courtier was by no means willing to oblige himself so soon to declare for those men, whose Interests were to be sacrificed by the Treaty that he had projected himself. But when every thing was signed, *Bonillon* renewed the Proposal. The Mareschal, over-joyed that he had gained his point, would very fain have engaged others to secure it for

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for him. This new union would have made him more formidable to the Court, that would then have used him with more caution and regard. But his cunning was soon discovered; and some Lords answered him very coldly, that the business *was then out of season*. They were all so chafed and discontented one with another, that every one of them returned home, with a full design to mind nothing else but their own private Affairs.

*The disgrace
of Chancellour
Silleri, Ville-
toy and Jean-
nin.*

*Memoires de
Rohan. I. i.
Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary d. Me-
dici.*

The Peace of *Loudun* produced no great alteration in the affairs of the Kingdom. *Conchini* was the only gainer by these commotions: He had already caus'd the removal of the Duke of *Epernon*; but the Mareschal *d' Ancre* was resolved to go on further with it. The Great Seal was taken from *Silleri*, so soon as ever the Court was arrived from *Tours* to *Blois*. *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* had been underhand at work to ruin that Magistrate, and so to be revenged of him, being enraged that he had sacrificed them to please *Conchini*, with a design to make himself Master of all Affairs under this Favourite. But they did not enjoy long the pleasure that revenge gives to Courtiers. The Mareschal *d' Ancre* put it into the Queen Mother's head, that *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* acted in correspondency with the Prince of *Conde*, in the Negotiation of *Loudun*; so that the imprudent, and over-credulous *Mary de Medicis*, removed

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moved also from business, two of the most faithful as well as able Servants of the King her Husband. And now *Concbini* was almost arrived at the height of his desires: for since the death of *Henry IV.* he had been always contriving how to remove from Court the Princes of the Blood, and the greatest Lords, and to put the ancient Ministers of State out of the first employments, in order to fill up their places with his Creatures. *Mangot*, one of them, who was made Secretary of State, who bred up *Puisieux*, Gramond. Historiarum Galliarum. L. 2. Son of the *Chancellour*; and *Barbin*, Steward to the Queen Mother, had the management of the Exchequer, though as yet President *Jeannin* kept his place. And for fear they should provoke the world too much, they gave the Great Seal to *du Vair*, then first President of the Parliament of *Aix* in *Provence*, who was a Magistrate universally esteemed for his Learning and his admirable Probity. But a Virtue too austere was not so well relished by *Mary de Medicis* and her Confidents. The new keeper of the Seal, who was more a Philosopher than a Courtier, did not devote himself slavishly enough to *Concbini*; wherefore the *Italians* suffered not him long to enjoy his Place. For this stranger was not contented with his having been created Mareschal of *France*, after an unheard-of manner, (for he had never served in the Wars) but he would likewise enjoy the

1616. the places of Governour of the King, Chancellour, and Surintendant of the Finances.

*The Edict of
Blois for the
Pacification of
the Troubles.
Mercure
Francois,
1616.*

The first thing that *du Vair* did, after his accession to his new Dignity, was the sealing of the Edict given at *Blois* for the pacification of the Troubles, whereby the King confirmed all the Articles agreed upon by his Commissioners at the Conference of *Loudun*, and granted an Amnesty and Pardon for all that was past, since the Prince of *Conde* and the Lords of his Party had taken up Arms. They had also drawn up some secret and private Articles, which were registered in the Sovereign Courts together with the Edict, which was attended by a Declaration upon the *Oath of Coronation*. The Proposial made by the Nobility in the Assembly of the States General, that the King should be humbly entreated to maintain the *Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Religion*, according to the *Oath taken at his Coronation*, did alarm the Reformed in a very strange manner. But to remedy their mistrust, his Majesty declared also, that his meaning never was, that his Subjects of the other Communione should be included in the *Oath which he had taken at his Coronation*. And then he ordered that whatsoever had been granted to them should be inviolably observed.

*The Duke de
Mayenne and
the Marechal de
Bouillon* went to take possession of his new Government of *Berry*, as soon as his health could permit him, after the return to the Court.

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Book V
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conclusion of the Conference at *Loudun*. 1616.
The Duke *de Longueville* retired to one of his Houses, being uncertain whether the Queen Mother would give him the Government of *Normandy* in lieu of that of *Picardy*. But before the Dukes *de Rohan* and *Sully* went to their respective *bous* the Governments, they took a turn to *Rochefort*, to confer with the Deputies at the General Assembly of those of their Religion, who were shortly after to break up. There the Court laboured hard to persuade *Rohan* and *Sully* to sign the same Writing the *Mareschal de Bonillon* and the Duke *de la Tremouille*, and some others had signed before, to intimidate the Assembly, in case they would not break up within the six weeks granted to them. *Rohan* and *Sully*, more generous and less slaves to the Court, than the two other Lords, refused boldly to set their hands to it. The Duke *de Mayenne* was the man of the whole party whom the Queen Mother least complained of. She was well pleased with his refusing to sign the Treaty of the Adjunction of the Reformed to the Prince of *Conde's* Party, and that remembering that he was the Son of the Head of the League, he had protested that he would never attempt to do any thing for the service of the Reformed. After those signal offices that *Mayenne* had shewed for the Court, at the very time that he was *up in arms*, he did

Memorials of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.
Memoirs of Rohan. L. 1.
Discourse by the same author.
Government of the Queen Mother.
The Life of M. du Plessis Mornay. L. 4.

1616.

endeavour to make himself still more deserving, by repairing first to the Court. He was there kindly received, and I do not know whether the Duke might not flatter himself with the hopes of a reward from the Queen Mother, for the good services he had done her, by putting forward the conclusion of the Treaty of *Loudun*.

The Mareschal *de Bouillon* repaired there almost at the same time, full of the like hopes. *Duplessis Mornay*, who liv'd in good correspondence with all the Lords of his Religion, had advis'd the Mareschal to wipe off the ill impressions the Reformed Party had taken up against him, and to reconcile himself to those men, whom he might perhaps one day stand in need of. This might have been easily performed by shewing himself in several Provinces, under pretence of looking after his Estate in *Limousin*, and of going to visit his Friends or Relations. *Bouillon* pretended as if he was disposed to follow this advice, when he received a Letter from the King, whereby he invited him to come immediately to him. 'Tis not known whether the Court had a design to keep this restless person out of the Provinces remote from *Paris*. And it may be likewise, *Bouillon* himself did endeavour to bring about his invitation by the King to the Court, to the end, that he might there inform himself the better about their further proceedings. However, it was, in a very short time the Mareschal stuck close

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to the Duke *de Mayenne*. And of all 1616.
the Lords of *Conde's* Party, these two
alone kept firmly united one to another.

The Duke and the Mareschal waited *The Mareschal*
on the King, at the time when his Ma- *d' Ancre is*
jesty was at *Paris* with the two Queens. *generallyhated*
Conchini was not so bold as to come to *Journal of*
Court, but he continued at his Country *Bassompierre*.
House at *Lezigni*, either for fear of the *Histor. Gal-*
people of *Paris*, that were highly in- *liz. I. ii.*
censed against him, or because he was *MercureFran-*
angry with the Queen Mother, for com- *cis, 1616.*
manding him to quit the King's Lieute-
nancy in *Picardy*, together with the Cit-
tadel of *Amiens*, and to accept of the
Lieutenancy in *Normandy*, which the
Duke *de Montbazon* was to give him in
exchange. However, though the Mares-
chal ought to have been contented with
such an escape, yet he could not digest to
see his Estate in *Picardy* left to the discre-
tion of the Duke of *Longueville*, the
greatest Enemy he had in the world,
who would doubtless be very troublesoin
to him, in a Province where the Gover-
nour was to have an absolute Authority.
The hatred which the people of *Paris*
publickly shewed to *Conchini*, did also
extreamly exasperate this *Italian*, who
was of a less complying, and more fiery
temper, than most commonly those of his
Nation are. But ought he to wonder
that the *French* could not patiently suffer
a stranger to aspire at more Authority in
their Country, than the Princes of the
Blood,

1616. Blood, to bring down the most puissant Lords of the Kingdom, and those who had long enjoyed the highest parts in the Ministry ? So many persons, eminent by their Birth, Employments and establisht Reputations, had, to be sure, their Friends and their Creatures, who stirred up the people against *Conchini*.

It was impossible to see without indignation, a little Gentleman of *Florence*, worth when he came to *France* nothing, (for he himself confessed to *Bassompierre*, that he was indebted eight thousand Crowns more than he had in the whole world, when first he had the honour to wait on *Mary de Medicis*) to see, I say, this *Conchini*, but lately so poor, now honoured with one of the first Dignities of the Kingdom, enjoying with his Wife I know not how many places, to the value almost of two millions of *Livres*, and Lands and Houses which cost above a million more, besides in Furniture, Jewels, and Plate, at least two millions ; in a word, he was worth three millions of *Gold*, which, by his own confession, he had hoarded up during the Regency of *Mary de Medicis* ; to see this man waited on by a considerable number of *French* Gentlemen, reduced by their poverty to receive a thousand *Livres* of him for their yearly subsistence, now insulting his Betters, and calling them in his broken Language of half *French* and half *Italian*, *Coins de mille Francs*.

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A man whose fortune had made insolent to that degree, could not fail of being universally hated at Court, in Town, and in the Country.

Conchini knew well enough how ill he stood in the affections of the *Parisians*, by the most sensible mortification that a man of his rank and station could receive. He was at *Paris* when the Conference was held at *Loudun*: And notwithstanding the suspension of Arms, the Inhabitants of that City kept still a Guard at their Gates, so that whosoever came in or went out of *Paris*, were forc'd first to obtain their Passes. The *Mareschal d' Ancre*, who design'd to keep the *Easter* Holy-days at his House in the Suburbs of *Paris*, rode the *Saturday* before in his Coach, attended by the usual Gentlemen of his Retinue; but a Shooe-maker, whose name was *Picard*, keeping Guard at the Gate call'd *de Bussy*, stopt his Coach without any regard to good manners, &c. and bid him shew his Pass. Whereupon the *Mareschal d' Ancre* with a great heat, commanded his Coachman and Attendants to go on; but those words were wind, for the Guard presently went to their Halberds and Musquets, and set them to their breasts. *Conchini* putting his head out of the Coach, *You Rogue*, said he to the Shooe-maker, *Dost thou know who I am?* Yes Sir, very well, answered *Picard*, in a haughty and disdainful manner; *However, you shall not*

1616. *go out, unless you shew me your Pass.* *Conchini* was ready to burst with madness to be thus treated, but yet he durst not offer any violence, for the Mob, who were running up in Troops to him, would have knock'd him down without any more ado: Therefore he contented himself, with only sending some of his Servants to the Commissary of the Ward, to get him to order the Guard that the Marechal might go out, and so put up this affront till the King's return. A while after, *Conchini* order'd his Gentleman of the Horse to take two Servants along with him, and to give *Picard* the Shooe-maker a thorough thrashing.

The Order was so well put in execution, that the poor man was left almost dead upon the spot. But *Conchini*'s Servants relying too much upon the Credit of their Master, suffer'd themselves to be arrested. They were in a very few days after hang'd before the Houle of *Picard*. The Gentleman of the Horse was also arraign'd, and the Magistrates would have condemn'd him for Contumacy, to the same punishment, had not the Marechal of *France* quickly agreed with the Shooe-maker of *Paris*, and put a stop to his proceedings, for a summ of Money, which *Conchini* caus'd immediately to be paid him.

*Apprehensions
of the Marechal
d'Ancre
grounded upon
his late Mis-
fortunes.*

This Affair gave the Marechal *d'Ancre* such a mortification, that he look'd upon it as an Omen of his ruine. And from

from that very time he never ceas'd to represent to *Galigai* his Wife, that they should do well to retire as soon as possible into *Italy*. *There we shall peaceably enjoy* Journal de Bassompierre. *the Riches we have hoarded up*, said the disconsolate *Mareschal*, *and we shall secure the succession thereof to our Family*. *Let us offer six hundred thousand Crowns to the Pope*, upon condition that we shall have during our joint lives, the Revenue of the *Dukedom of Ferrara*. *The Borgeses think of nothing else*, but of enriching themselves during the Pontificate of their Uncle, who is already much stricken in years. They will surely with all their hearts accept of such an advantageous *Proposal*. But *Galigai*, less apprehensive of the danger, or more ambitious than her Husband, prevented *Conchini* from concluding this affair which was already on foot. He had pass'd the time of his Youth at *Florence* in *Lewdness and Debaucheries*, sometimes banish'd, and sometimes in *Prison*; and almost always without *Money*. This was the ingenious *Confession* that *Conchini* made once to *Bassompierre*; when he was using Arguments to comfort him for the loss of his Daughter, who died about the latter end of this Year. Since his Marriage with the *Confident* of *Mary de Medicis*, he had liv'd in continual *Intreagues at Court*, spending his whole time in the advancement of his *Fortune*. Yet in the midst of all these *distractions*, *Conchini* kept up still some (I do not know what) feeble *Sentiments*.

1616. ments of Religion, which were a little waken'd now and then by the repeated Misfortunes which befel him.

In less than two years time a great deal of trouble fell upon him; for he had the affliction to see his Name set down in the Prince of *Conde's* Manifesto's, wherein he was represented as one of the principal disturbers of the quiet of the Government. *Dole*, his most intimate Confident, who serv'd him with such great ability in all his Intreagnes, died at *Tours* during the Negotiation of *Loudun*. At the solicitation of the Duke of *Longueville*, the King's Lieutenancy in *Picardy*, and the Government of the Citadel of *Amiens*, (two places very convenient for *Conchini*) were taken away from him. The Insult he had receiv'd from *Picard* the Shoe-maker, and the affront he was obliged to bear in the person of two of his Servants, that were hang'd under the Mustachoes of a Mareschal of *France*, (as *Conchini* express'd himself) were still more sensible to him than all the rest. After this all the Lords of the Court declar'd themselves against him, so that he was forc'd to retire into *Normandy*. The Mob of *Paris* plunder'd his Houle, and the los's he sustaine'd by it, was valued at two hundred thousand Crowns in Moveables. In short, for the compleating of all his Misfortunes, he lost his Daughter, whom he most tenderly lov'd. After this fatal and grievous

1616.

grievous accident,, attended with so many foregoing lamentable misfortunes, *Conchini* was touched with soime motions of Devotion, or rather of Superstition, which in like cases sometimes fall upon ambitious Courtiers, who have not yet quite shook off the Yoke. He fancied that God gave him thereby a warning of his imminent Ruine, and that he should with all possible speel depart from *France*, for fear the hand of the Lord should be still heavier upon him. A man better instructed than he was in the Truths of the Gospel, would not have much concern'd himself about securing those vast Riches, purchas'd by Fraud, Flattery and Injustice, &c. to the end that he might pass the rest of his Life in Splendour and Plenty: But he would rather have us'd his utmost endeavours to appease the wrath of God by a sincere re-pentance, and by a generous renouncing of all the vain amusements of the Age, to make satisfaction for the wrongs he had done to his Neighbours, and redeem his Crimes, if possible, by a holy profusion of Alms. But the pretended devotion of *Conchini* went not yet so far. He only threw himself at the feet of his Wife, and intreated her, as earnestly as he could, to comply with him, and to retire into their own native Country, whither he had already sent considerable summs of Money. You are a Coward and an ungrateful Man, said *Galignai*

1616.

ligai to him in a proud and scornful tone, *Is it not the most unworthy and the basest thing in the world, to have the least thoughts of forsaking the Queen, who has full loaded us with her Kindnesses and Favours? How dare you to make me such a Proposal?* This obstinacy of hers, which had a shew of something like Courage and Resolution, threw the Mareschal d'Ancre into a desperate humour. *If I could honourably leave a Wife, to whom I am bound by so many great obligations,* said he again to Bassompierre, *I would soon retire to a place, where the Lords and the People of France would not come to seek for me.* We shall see in the following Year that he was not falsely inspir'd.

A new Con-
spiracy of the
Great Lords
against the
Mareschal
& Ancre.

All the Methods that the prudence of the Children of this World suggested to Conchini to keep himself at Court, were so far from succeeding well with him, that they proved pernicious to him. He had endeavour'd to join himself with the Duke of Mayenne and the Mareschal de Bouillon, and proposed to them to do all that Jay in his power in concert with them, effectually to work the ruine of the Dukes of Epernon and Bellegarde. And he flatter'd himself with the hopes that the two former would accept of his offer, in expectation of reaping mighty advantages from the Spoils of two Great Men, one of whom was excessively Rich. But whether the disgrace of Villeroi and Jeannin, whom Mayenne and Bouillon had

had a great Esteem for, had provok'd them against *Conchini*, that had been the contriver of it; or whether they were afraid of making themselves contemptible to all *France*, by uniting themselves to a Stranger, who was universally hated, they made use of this own proposal only to gain new Friends to their own Party, and to raise a greater number of powerful Enemies against him. The Duke *de Guise* being inform'd of all these proceedings by them, was exceedingly shock'd at the contrivance of *Conchini* against *Epernon* and *Bellegarde* his Kinsmen, and join'd himself to the two others, with a design utterly to ruine the Mareschal *d' Ancre*. The first effect of this new Cabal, was to reconcile all those both of the Court and Parliament, who bore any grudge to *Conchini*, and so to cause a greater Insurrection of the *Parisians* against him. The Duke *de Mayenne* and the Mareschal *de Bouillon* threaten'd to attack him in his very House of *Leszani*, whither he had withdrawn himself; and accordingly they took their measures to blow it up with Petards. A baseness unworthy persons of Honour and Quality! However, the design miscarried, more to the advantage of their own Reputation, than that of the unwise and unfortunate Mareschal *d' Ancre*; for his ruine was only deferr'd for some months longer.

*Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Medici.*
*Journal de
Bassompierre.*

1616.

The Duke of Rohan reconciles himself to the Queen Mother.

The Conjunctione of affairs at this time was favourable for the Duke of *Rohan* to carry on his designs. During the Conference of *Loudun*, he had still penetrated farther into the Heart and Genius of the *Mareschal de Bouillon*, and therefore was more averse than ever he had been, to follow the same Party with him; he was now resolv'd to try to get himself reconcil'd to the Queen Mother; and he doubted not, but she would be very glad to gain the Interest of a Lord, who might be not a little serviceable to her against the *Mareschal de Bouillon*. The new Cabals which were formed at Court, put *Mary de Medicis* into another extreme perplexity, who was discerning enough to perceive, that by ruining her favourite she should lose her Authority in a very great measure. Wherefore *Rohan* offer'd his Service to the Queen Mother: but this was done in a frank and noble manner, every way suitable to so great a Spirit as his was. All the great Lords having taken care of their own private Interests, at the Conference of *Loudun*, the Duke *de Rohan* likewise thought himself oblig'd to look after his own; wherefore he demanded the Government of *Poitou*, in case the Duke *de Sully* should persist in the design of resigning it in compliment to him. The Queen Mother not being able to refuse a thing she had already promis'd him, *Rohan* had since the Peace,

Memoirs of Rohan L. 1.

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renewed his endeavours to prevail with his Father-in-law, who at last consented to make the Resignation. There remained therefore nothing more to do now, but to obtain the King's Letters Patents, which the Court did promise to grant, upon condition that the Duke would come himself to receive them.

Soon after, he came to *Paris*, *Madam*, said he to *Mary de Medicis*, discovering his mind pretty freely to her at a private Conversation, *I must confess, I have been extreamly sensible of the slight that hath been shewn me, for one of my Rank is never without some Power. When a Man is neglected, he is apt to be tempted to let the world see, that he deserves no less the Regards and good Offices of the Court, than some other folks, that perhaps may have no more merit in them than himself. I have served your Majesty upon several occasions, I hope to your advantage; and You cannot but know, Madam, that I have not been extraordinarily rewarded for it. Had I conceal'd my Resentments, perhaps I might have been more acceptable to you: But I know not on the other hand, whether such an Insensibility might not have made me likewise suffer in your esteem. If you will please, Madam, to forget what I may have done against your Majesty's Service, and to honour me with your good Grace and Favour, I do protest, that I will defend your Interests against all the World. I humbly beseech your Majesty not to take it amiss, if*

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only except those of my Religion. *Mary de Medicis* was well enough pleas'd with the frankness and generosity of this Great Man, and she did kindly receive him, and accepted of his Proposal. The Duke on his side inviolably kept his word.

The States General of the United Provinces were deemed their Places pawn'd to the Crown of England.

It would quite tire one to give all the particulars of the Intreagues of the Court. If you meet there with a person, whose Vertue and Probity are agreeable to you, there are a thousand whose dissimulation and wickedness will strike you with disgust and horror. But we will leave off for a while this account, which may perhaps seem too tedious, and see what pass'd both in *England* and the *United Provinces*.

Mercure Francois.

1616.

Memoirs of Holland by du Maurier.

Life of Maurice Prince of Orange.

James, King of Great Britain, perform'd this Year an action that might have deserv'd large Elegies, had the motives thereof appear'd more honourable; or at least, had this unskilful Prince better conceal'd his Avarice and Weakness. He releas'd to the States General of the *United Provinces*, the Towns of *Brill*, *Flushing* and *Rammekens*. These three Places, which are look'd upon as the Keys of the *Meuse*, the *Sceld* and the *Rhine*, had been made over to Queen *Elizabeth*, which were both a Guaranty of the Treaties made between her Majesty and the *United Provinces*, and a security for the Money she had lent them. The Interest of that Money amounted eight years before to eighteen hundred thousand pounds.

pounds Sterling, or thereabouts, according to the computation of the *English*.
The States earnestly desired to get again these three Important Towns out of the hands of a powerful Neighbour, who was jealous of the prosperity of their Trade. Something seem'd to be wanting to the perfect Liberty of the *United Provinces*, so long as the *English* were Masters of the Entrance into three great Rivers in their Country, and that the Ambassadour of *England* should have a Right, by vertue of the possession of those three Places, of sitting and giving his Vote in the Council of the State of that Commonwealth. But it was very difficult, for a Nation drained by a long and a ruinous War, which they had maintained against *Spain*, to find out the necessary funds for repaying off so considerable a Debt. And how could they tell but that whenever they should go about to treat for the Restitution of those places, *England* would start up some invincible difficulties.

Barnevelt, one of the greatest Politicians, and the most able man of Busines of his time, undertook to do this notable piece of service for his Country, which was already very much beholden to him. Wherefore he did set out at the head of a most famous Embassy; and observed so well the posture of affairs in *England*, the temper of the King, and the Interest of his Favourite and Ministers, that at

Larrey's History of England. Tom. ii. in the Reign of James I. 1616.

1616. last he found a favourable opportunity to demand the restitution of those three places, upon condition that the States General should forthwith lay down part of the summ which they were indebted to him. King *James* wanted Money to supply his unprofitable Expences and those of his Favourite's, but had not courage enough to call his Parliament to ask them for Supplies : The Favourite and some Ministers, whom he had gain'd over to him, advis'd the King to give up these three Places to the States, for a moderate part of that summ, which the *English* pretended to be due to them, and to give discharge for the rest. Never was an affair manag'd with more prudence and subtily than this. *Barnevelt* had precaution'd the States to put a stop to the farther paying of the Garrisons of those Places that were mortgag'd. *Queen Elizabeth*, said he, *bound herself to pay them*; and *England has agreed to stay for her Re-imbursment*; till the restoring of the Pledge that we have given them. The able and discerning *Dutch-man* rightly foreknew that the Souldiers would apply themselves to the King for their Pay, and that his Majesty, who always wanted Money, would be driven to great straits. He might have call'd his Parliament indeed; but the King himself, his Favourite, and Ministers were too much afraid of men, who are always irreconcileable Enemies to the Arbitrary Power of Favourites.

vourites and Ministers; whereupon the *English* broke out into threatnings against the States General. We know well enough how to make them pay the *Garrisons*, said some of them. His Majesty also was talking of raising some Forces, and setting out a powerful Fleet. But there was no Money in his Exchequer. The Favourite and the Ministers gain'd over by Bribes, which they had perhaps already receiv'd, or at least in expectation of getting their share of the Money which the King was to receive; these Gentlemen, I say, peruwaded him to enter into a Composition with the States General. King *James* approved of their advice, and gave them his word; whereupon *Barneveld* return'd into *Holland*, to raise the summ agreed upon, wherewith he was immediately supply'd by the People, who are naturally sparing, and mighty lovers of their Liberty. *Caron*, Ambassador Ordinary of the States General in *England*, finish'd the Treaty, which was near concluded on already; and by procuring for the King's own use, the payment of the third part, or thereabouts, of the summ at first demanded, he obtained the restitution of those three places.

The *English* loudly cried out against their weak and covetous King, who had sullied his own Reputation, as well as disparag'd the whole Nation, by this so shameful a Treaty. They publickly,

1616.

lckly reproached him for having been scandalously put upon by the Dutch, or betray'd by his Favourite and Ministers. What need was there, said some, for looking into the Purse of the States for that Money, which the Parliament would have so readily granted to the King? We had justly bought those three Places, and we would also have supply'd the King, with what was necessary for the keeping of them. We know the reason why the King was not willing to call the Parliament, he was afraid that measures would have been taken there for preserving our Liberties. At last King James was so much ashain'd and vexed at his own Imprudence, that he conceived a mortal hatred against Barneveldt ever after. And it is the general opinion, that his Majesty's Indignation did not a little contribute to the misfortune of that Great Man. But tho' King James had perhaps acted in this matter against the Rules of that Art, of usurping, and then unjustly keeping the Goods of another, which they call'd refin'd Politicks, yet ought he after all to be blamed, for having had the goodness and probity to restore what had been only given in pledge only to his Crown? Besides the generosity of a Great Prince, nay, let us say more, the Duty and Charity of a Christian King, required him to remit some of the Gross Interests, which the United Provinces had been hindred from paying, by the absolute necessity of defending their

their own Liberties. But the finest as well as justest Actions lose all their value and merit, when we do not understand how to do them as we ought. His *Bri-tannick* Majesty would have deserved commendation had he restored what was in his hands, and remitted some part of that which he might have required according to the strictness of Treaties, in a less sordid manner, and more worthy a Great and Puissant King.

The good success of *Barneveldt's* Negotiation to get *Brill*, *Flushing* and *Ramme-
kens* restor'd, was a great Consolation to him, in the deep sense of that Affliction, this Great Man was lying under by the Division, which he saw growing more and more every day in the Province of *Holland* and other places. He had honourably succeeded in all his undertakings, but he miscarried, or rather ruin'd himself, when he endeavour'd to prevent the ill consequences, that the blind and impetuous Zeal of the Divines, too much heated in the defending their own prejudices, was likely to bring upon a growing Republick, which was breathing a little during a Truce, that was now near expiring. Foresight is the most necessary qualification for men that are at the Helm of Affairs; but yet notwithstanding, it sometimes falls out so, that their too great precaution ruins all their designs. The unfortunate end of *Barneveldt* is a sad precedent of this; for by at-

*Divisions in-
creas'd in
Holland, and
some other
Provinces.*

*Preface of the
Acts of the
Synod of Dort.
Brand's His-
tory of the Re-
formation.*

l. 22, 23.

tempt-

1616. tempting to secure the Liberty of his Country, and so procure its Peace, he did increase the Domestick Divisions of it, and thereby gave his Enemies an opportunity to bring him to lose his Head upon a Scaffold.

The Ordinance published in the year 1614. by the States of *Holland*, instead of quelling the Ministers of the *Contra-Remonstrant* Party, still more and more exasperated them. The Inhabitants of *Amsterdam* declared themselves boldly for them. This proceeding of the most powerful City in *Holland* was of mighty prejudice to the *Remonstrants*, and their Adversaries became much stronger by it. I will give you the original of this Revolution, whereby we shall see, that a small Interest, and the animosity of some private persons, have upon some certain occasions such an influence on the publick Resolutions of a City or a State, that it changes the face of affairs on a sudden. *Hooft*, Burgomaster of *Amsterdam*, was there in very great esteem: His good Intentions for Peace and Union, made him high in favour with the *Remonstrants*, and he kept their Adversaries from oppressing them. But to their great misfortune, this Magistrate lost all his Authority. Some of his Colleagues had bought some Lands and Hereditaments, which they knew well enough would of necessity be purchased, when they went about to enlarge their City, according to the

the Resolutions they had taken thereupon. When Proposals were made to them to sell the Ground, which they had bought very cheap, they would hearken to no terms, but what were extravagantly excessive. *Hooft*, much displeased at this sordid Monopoly, insisted that these new Proprietors ought to yield up their Purchase to the Publick for the same Money, for which they had bought it. The contest grew very warm on both sides; and *Hooft* was excluded from the Government by the plurality of Voices; his advice was rejected; and so soon as he did declare himself for any persons Interests, the other Magistrates went directly against him. He had favour'd the *Remonstrants*; now they cry out as much against them, and give all the support they can to their Enemies. *Gouhart*, a Minister of the Walloon-Church, who preach'd up the Doctrines of *Arminius*, was forthwith suspended by the Consistory, and summon'd to appear at the Walloon Synod, which was held at *Middelburgh*. I have already said, that the Walloon Ministers shew'd always more moderation in those Controversies, than the *Flemings*. Their Synod refus'd to take cognizance of that affair. They should have expos'd themselves to the displeasure of the Inhabitants of *Amsterdam*, or else of the *States General*; wherefore the Synodal Assembly referr'd *Gouhart's* business to a National Synod, the calling

1616. calling of which was earnestly desired by the *Contra-Remonstrants*.

Grotius Apo-
logerico eo-
sum qui Hol-
landiae pre-
suerunt.
Cap. 8.

These troubles strangely perplexed the States of *Holland*. The Ordinances they made for obliging both Parties to bear charitably with one another, was of no effect at all. The City of *Amsterdam* and some others refus'd to receive, what had been only concluded by a Plurality of Voices. They maintained, that this Affair was of the nature of those, which according to the Law of the Country could not be resolv'd, but by an unanimous agreement of all the Cities of the Province. It does not appear that this pretension was well grounded. For by the Law made in the Year 1581. it is declar'd that the Affairs of the Province shall be determin'd in the Assembly of the States, by plurality of Voices, except only those concerning the laying of Taxes, raising Money, proclaiming War, making Peace, and altering the Constitution of the Government. The *Reformation* was receiv'd both in *Holland* and *Zeland* by the Plurality of Voices, and that without waiting for the consent of all the Towns. Wherefore this being of that kind, which only concern'd the preserving Peace in the Church, and the establishing of a charitable toleration in it, upon some Articles, no ways essential to Religion, *Barneveld* and the greatest of thole who were sitting in the States of *Holland* answer'd, that the Affair ought

ought to be decided by Pluralities of 1616.
Voices.

But instead of entring into a new contest upon the pretension of the City of *Amsterdam*, the States of the Province deputed five of their Members to go thither and represent to the Magistrates the equity of the Ordinances that were made, and to exhort them to receive them. *Grotius* was one of those deputed by the States, and we have still the fine and learned Speech he made upon that subject. His Speech (as that excellent Man said himself) was such a Prediction, as those that the Poets ascribe to poor *Cassandra*. Every thing that *Grotius* told them about the Calamities this Division would bring upon their Country, unless all the Towns would join with, and further the good Intentions of the States, was found but too true. But those of *Amsterdam* would believe nothing of it. How pressing soever the Deputies of the States were with the Magistrates, to give them a positive answer, yet they could obtain nothing at that time from them. But only the Burgo-masters said at a private Conversation, that the calling of a Synod was the only way to appease those troublsom disputes. *The People*, said they, seem so far prepossess'd with this opinion, that these matters now in question, concern some Points essential to the Reformation, that they will never give their consent to a Toleration, unless the Authority of the

Brand's Historij of the Reformation.

L. 24. Preface of the Acts of the Synod of Dort.

Grotius us oratione habita in Se- natu. Amstelredamensi: Tom. iii. opt- rum Theolo- gicorum.

1616. the Ministers in such an Assembly does persuade them. Most men do not understand these matters; but they refer them to their Pastors. When it shall be decided by a Synod, then the Multitude will easily be brought over to acquiesce. It seems to us, replied the Deputies of the States, that the Conferences between the Ministers of the two Parties, and the Writings publish'd on both sides, have set forth every thing so plain, that all the World is capable of seeing the matters in question. Why should not the States, who are perfectly instructed concerning these five Articles, pronounce as certainly, and be obey'd, as well as an Assembly of hot-headed and prejudic'd Ministers? The Burgo-masters went on no further, and the Deputies return'd home, even just as wise as they came.

A while after, the City of *Amsterdam* openly declar'd to the States of *Holland*, that they were resolv'd to maintain the Religion as it was establish'd fifty years ago; that they were of opinion that it ought not to be alter'd in the least, but only after the Decision of the Synod, where the Articles in controversy should be carefully examin'd, and that they could not give their consent to what had been done by the States since the year 1611, nor allow their Names to be set down in any of the Ordinances made against those, who defended the Confession of Faith receiv'd by the *Belgick* Churches, except a Synod lawfully assembled,

sembled, had determin'd it was law-^{1616.} ful to depart from them, as to what concerns Free-will and Predestination.

The *Contra-Remonstrant* Ministers, over-^{Brand's History of the Re-} joy'd to see the City of *Amsterdam* stand^{up so mightily for them, met therefrom} ^{25.}

all parts of the *United Provinces*, in the *Grotius Epis-*
manner of a secret Synod. In this *Assembly* it was resolv'd, to present a Petition^{stola 64. Gehrardo Joanni Vossio. 1616.} to the *States of the Province*, and to de-
sire that the *Contra-Remonstrants* might be
allow'd to follow the light of their own
Consciences, and to separate from the
Communion of those, who rejected the
ancient Confession of Faith of the *Belgick*
Churches. This Assembly resolved also,
that they would not consent to any fur-
ther Conference, but would leave all
matters to the decision of a National Syn-
od, the calling of which should be de-
manded, with more warmth and earnest-
ness than ever, in case the *States of Holland*
would not grant it. Some of the
Magistrates of *Amsterdam* propos'd also
in the Council of the City, to bear the
charges of the Synod that should be held
there, if there were no other way for ob-
taining such a Synod as they demanded.
In this secret Assembly of *Amsterdam*,
most strange things were laid to the *Re-
monstrant's* charge. These Men, said their
Adversaries, have resolved to overthrow
the Reformation. And for that purpose
they keep very strict correspondencies with the
Spaniards and the Jesuits. They did not so
much

1616. much as spare the Persons of the first Rank in the State; and their Ministers took great care to spread abroad in the Provinces, all that had been said in their pretended Synod.

Matters went otherwise at *Rotterdam*.

*Brand's His-
tory of the Re-
formation.* There the Magistrates favour'd the *Re-
monstrants*, as much as those of *Amster-
dam* were against them. *Grotius*, Pen-
sionary of *Rotterdam*, had assembl'd some
stola, 65 & 66. Ministers of the two Parties, in order to
try whether he could not bring the *Con-
tra-Remonstrants*, to agree to a charitable
and fraternal Toleration. But this Learn-
ed Man lost his labour, for they refus'd
to hearken to what he could say to them.
He was look'd upon as a profess'd *Armi-
nian*. The Magistrates of *Rotterdam* be-
ing very angry, that the *Contra-Remon-
strant* Ministers should hold private As-
semblies, notwithstanding the Injunctions
they had made to the contrary, pub-
lish'd a very severe Ordinance against all
Ecclesiastical Assemblies, held any where
else but in publick Churches, throughout
all the places of the Jurisdiction of *Rotten-
dam*. The place where such an Assem-
bly should meet, to be confiscated for
the benefit of the Poor. The Ministers
and other persons, that should be pre-
sent at the said Assembly, to be con-
demned to pay three hundred *Livres*,
and to enforce the payment of such Mo-
neys, every one of the Offenders was ei-
ther to suffer Imprisonment, or else to have
cap. 19.

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his Goods seiz'd, and publick sale made of them, if he could not be apprehended. If we will believe what the *Remonstrants* say, the Ministers of their Party had no hand in this Ordinance. But how shall we excuse the Learned *Grotius*, who drew it up himself? This was one of the Heads of his Impeachment, for which he was condemn'd by his Judges. He endeavour'd to clear himself of it, and said, that he had only obey'd the Orders the Magistrates had laid upon him. But would they have made use of the Pen of that skilful Lawyer, or rather, would he have been ready to lend it, if the Ordinance had seem'd unjust and unreasonable to him. In truth, this does not agree well with the profis'd moderation of *Grotius*.

He pretends that the Ordinance was only minatory, after the Example of those of the Emperor *Theodosius*. That Prince publish'd very severe Laws against *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, but did not put them in execution. *Theodosius* design'd only to scare men. But was *Grotius* sure that his Ordinance should not be put in execution? How just so ever the Intentions of *Theodosius* might have been, yet in proces of time, such use was made of his Laws, as *Grotius* could not approve of. And I am more surpriz'd to see, that this Great Man produces in the behalf of the Magistrates of Rotterdam, the Laws of the Roman Emperors

1616.

rors against Schismatics, and the Arguments that St *Austin* put forth, to vindicate the Justice and Equity of them. The same argument is made use of in our days, for vindicating the unheard of extravagancies, of the most cruel and obstinate Persecutor that ever was against the *Reformation*. But 'tis sufficient that *Grotius* owns, that the Ordinance was but minatory in the intention of the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*; which shews at least thus much, that he did not approve of violence in matters of Religion. However, *Grotius* never spoke after this manner, till he saw that his own Party were persecuted. If the *Arminians* had found themselves the strongest Party, would not *Grotius* have pres'd earnestly for the execution of an Ordinance that was of his own drawing up? Would not he have been still for their going on further? This Great Man protests, that he a long time persisted in denying them the assistance of his Pen, and that he always had an aversion to violent measures. We may believe him upon his word. But I could wish that he would have ingenuously own'd his mistake, and said he had forgot himself upon this occasion.

The two Parties were contending almost with equal forces at *Harlem*. Certain Magistrates supported the *Remonstrants*, and the Consistory oppos'd the *Magistrates*. But the Magistrates being offend-

1616.

offended that the Consistory took so great an Authority upon them, caus'd a Pastor to be chosen, and the Consistory to be changed according to the Law made in the year 1591, which had been not long since renewed by the States of *Holland*. Some of the ancient Ministers did stir up a great part of their Flock to be against this Election. And looking upon this new Pastor as an Intruder, they refused to communicate with him. Nor were they much more quiet in *Over-Issel* than in *Holland*. The *Remonstrants* being the strongest Party in some places, prevail'd so far as to get the most violent of their Adversaries suspended and deposed. But the latter had the Consolation of ruling absolutely in *Friseland*. The States of that Province sent a thundering Circular Letter against the *Remonstrants*. Their Doctrine was proscrib'd by this Letter, as being contrary to the word of God, and to the express Articles receiv'd in the *Belgick* Churches, ever since the beginning of the *Reformation*. It was there forbidden to ordain any Minister, before he had subscribed to the Doctrine contain'd in the Confession of Faith and Catechism, and taken the prescrib'd Oath, by which he engag'd himself never to teach either in publick or private, any thing contrary thereunto.

In short, the *Hague* was not without its Broils and Divisions. A Minister call'd *Rosens* set himself up against *Wym-*

H bogart

1616. bogart his Colleague, in the sight of the States of *Holland*, without ever having any regard to the powerful Friends that *Wytembogart* had there. The *Contra-Remonstrant* refused publickly in the Church to receive the Communion from the hand of a profess'd *Arminian*: The States were resolv'd to suspend *Rosens*; but *Wytembogart* represent'd to them, that his Colleague had a considerable Party, and therefore such a proceeding might occasion a separation. *Give me leave rather to retire my self*, said this peaceable Pastor very generously. and then there will be no room to fear a *Schism*. *Rosens* waited for an opportunity to signalize himself, wherefore he made a great deal of noise about the calling of a National Synod; (a thing which the States of *Holland* would by no means hearken to.) whereupon he was suspended; and in all probability it was what he wish'd for. His Party upon this were very uneasy, and two hundred persons took upon them, to present a Petition to the States of *Holland* in *Rosens* his behalf. And hoping that a greater number of People would declare themselves for him, he went with the other *Contra-Remonstrants* of the *Hague* to Church in the Village of *Ryswick*. *Rosens* was according to their own Hearts; so that in a short time, twelve hundred and odd Inhabitants of the *Hague*, demanded a publick Church in the Town, where *Rosens* might have the liberty

1616.

liberty to pteach to them the word of God ; and the Minister, who was sure of the protection of some great Patrons, did prets for his Re-establishment, and the calling of a National Synod.

The great Protector of *Rosseus*, and of all the *Contra-Remonstrants*, was *Francis Aerssens*, Lord of *Sommerdyck*, an adroit, enterprizing Man, and one fit for Intrigues. Love of Religion was not the motive of his Hatred to the *Remonstrants*, his thoughts were more taken up with how he should become Rich, and advance his Interest in the State, than to defend the Articles of his Creed. *Barnavelt*, Pensionary of *Holland*, had no such good opinion of the Probity of *Aerssens*, as to raise him to the first Employments of the State. He did look upon him at most, but as one of those men, whose yielding, subtle and artificial Wit, might be serviceable upon some occasions, and especially in foreign Courts. As soon as *Sommerdyck* had perceived what opinion the Pensionary had of him, he presently resolved, whatever it should cost him, to be reveng'd of a Magistrate, whose great Discernment and Virtue were an inseparable obstacle to the Ambition of *Aerssens*. Wherefore he gave himself up entirely to *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*. A Warrior who loves Glory, the enlarging his Authority and Pleasure, is much more easily ensnar'd, than an old and dextrous Minister.

Maurice, P.
of Orange,
begins to de-
clare himself
against the
Remon-
strants.

Brand's His-
tory of the Re-
formation.
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The life of
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velt.
Grotius' Apo-
logetico e
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landie pra-
fuerant.
Cap. 39.

1616. *Her of State, that is wholly taken up in the Service of the Publick. Maurice had no good thoughts of Barneveld, at the time of the conclusion of the Truce with Spain. But those Clouds were blown over; and the Pensionary and he had since liv'd in good correspondence together. But the suspicions and mistrust of Maurice were again renew'd about this time. One of his Favourites gave a hint of it to Wytembogart. If it were certainly true, said he to that Minister, that you have no other design, than to defend your Theological opinions, all the Towns would quickly come over to your side; but 'tis a general belief that you have other views. Your Disputes began just at the time of the Negotiation of the Truce with Spain; and those of your Party have been very pressing for the Conclusion of it. The Artificious Sommerdyck was continually insinuating these and the like things into the Prince, to engage him to come into the Interest of the Contra-Remonstrants, who were much displeas'd, to see that Barneveld oppos'd their violent Attempts. But Aerffens was so overjoy'd to find that the City of Amsterdam had openly declar'd it self against the Arminians, and that Prince Maurice was ready to do so too, that he began then boldly to threaten the Pensionary. There are some men, said he, who think themselves omnipotent; but their Authority is not so firmly grounded, but one may yet find some way to overthrow it.*

Prince

Prince *Maurice*, who was wholly taken up with the Affairs of War and the Government of the State, first suffer'd the Divines to quarrel among themselves; and he intimated from the very beginning of those Contests, as if he would stand *Neuter*. He was seen at the Sermons of *Wytembogart*, and to receive the Comminunion from the hands of that Minister, who was a great, but at the same time a moderate defender of *Arminianism*. *Wytembogart* follow'd the Prince in the quality of his Chaplain, during his Expedition in the Country of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. The Magistrates of *Utrecht* having demanded *Wytembogart* of the Prince, pursuant to some Rights which their City pretended to claim over him, *Maurice* desired them to consent that *Wytembogart* might dwell at the *Hague*. The Prince did not as yet seem to disapprove of the proceedings of the States of *Holland*, in putting a stop to the course of those disputes, and by that means to prevent a greater Division; neither did he advise them to take any other measures about those matters. The suspension of *Rosenus* the Minister having caus'd a very great disturbance at the *Hague*, *Barneveldi* went at last to wait on Prince *Maurice*. *I did not think my self oblig'd in duty till now, to trouble your Healt with the differences that have been rais'd about Religion*, said the Pensionary to the Prince. *But with great grief we find that the Contests*

1616. *tests amongst Divines are grown so high, that they are just ready to break out into an open sedition. Wherefore the States desire your Excellence to joyn with them. They are obliged to maintain their Authority against violent and factious men, who are labouring to make the people rise in some Places, and even almost whole Cities.* Maurice seemed a little surprized at the Proposal the Pensionary made him as from the States of Holland. But on a sudden recovering himself, Pray, said he to Barneveld, *do not engage me in a Theological War. I have not hitherto been concerned one way or other in the quarrels of the Ministers, and am resolved still to stand Neuter.* And in short, he continued hearing the Sermons of Witembogart, and in receiving the Communion from his hands.

His Excellency concealed his real sentiments from the Pensionary, and by the malicious suggestions of the revengeful Aerssens, Barneveld became every day more and more suspected and odious to the Prince. At last, Maurice began to espouse one side. Witembogart became sensible of it, by a discourse he had with the Prince about the separation he had with Rosens, who had been drawing off some of the Members of the Congregation at the Hague. *I am charged with the most bairous calumnies,* said Witembogart to the Prince: *But I am ready to lay down all the Functions of my*

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Ministry, if the States are pleased so to require it. I will assist without any reluctance at all the publick Assemblies, and will lead no Party. I do not approve of your design, answered Maurice : Matters are not yet come to that pass, either of silencing or expelling one another. Is there no way to bring things to an accommodation ? I know but of two, reply'd the Minister, either to meet separately, or else to bear with one another in charity. This last way is the best, I own it, said this Excellency. But what ! Their spirits are so exasperated, that now they must of necessity have for each Party a separate Church wherein to preach, and administer the Sacrament. This will then make a true Schism, said Wytembogart. And do you believe, my Lord, that our Adversaries will allow us a Church in those Towns that are absolutely devoted to them ? I should have hoped so, reply'd the Prince with an angry and disdainful look, had not your men used them so ill. They have suspended a Minister at Rotterdam, because he preached the Doctrine contained in the Articles of the Creed and the Catechism.

By the alteration that appeared in Maurice's countenance, Wytembogart perceived that his Excellency was not so much a Neuter, as he had intimated to the Pensionary. He represented to him, that the Minister of Rotterdam had not been suspended, but for his violent passion and disobedience ; but it was much more strange, that Gonlart should be sus-

pended at *Amsterdam*, for no other matter that they could accuse him of, but only because he had preached the *Arminian Doctrine*. Notwithstanding all these reciprocal suspensions, said then Prince *Maurice*; there are in the Body of the States of *Holland* some persons who go on very fast, and have no inclinations to remove any obstacles that may lye in the way of a speedy accommodation. The *Ordinance* published in the behalf of a *Toleration*, and the renewing of the Ecclesiastical *Law* made in the year 1591. are but resolutions unseasonably taken. It seems some would fain establish a kind of an *Inquisition*. But how can any flatter themselves that the *Contra-Remonstrants* would be obedient to those *Laws*, which they did took upon only as drawn up by their *Adversaries*? As for my part, I am fully satisfy'd that they will never submit to them. I cannot see, my Lord, answered *Wiembogart*, how it can be imputed to the *States*, the establishing of an *Inquisition*. This is a reproach that we justly lay upon our *Adversaries*. They will oblige their *Colleagues* under pain of suspension, to sign *Formularies* of *Faith* drawn up by themselves, without the approbation of the *Magistrates*. And what is there in those *Formularies*? Only *Doctrines* of *speculation*, that are no way relating to the *Essence* of *Religion*, which nevertheless they will compel men to receive as *fundamental Articles*. We have not drawn up any *Ordinances*, which the *Contra-Remonstrants* complain of. They have

have proceeded from our Lords the States, 1616.

who are the comn on Fathers of the Country,
You may say what you please, said the
Prince, bluntly interrupting him, such
matters as these ought to have been amicably
adjusted, and not the Sovereign Authority
of the Province to have been so easily expo-
sed. The Remonstrants were very much
concerned, when Wytembogart informed
them, that Prince Maurice had declared
himself in that manner. They assem-
bled to consult together, and to find out
means and ways how to make them-
selves sure at least of the Favour and
Protection of the States of Holland.

It was clearly discerned that Barneveld
was the principal of those his Excellency
pointed at in the discourse he had with
Wytembogart. And though Maurice had
sufficiently expressed his Resentiment a-
gainst Barneveld, at the time of the Ne-
gotiation of the Truce with Spain, yet
notwithstanding he had kept ever since
such a good correspondence with him,
that no man could find out the reason
that induced the Prince so suddenly
to alter his mind in that respect. Maurice
had on all occasions not only highly
commended the Zeal, Prudence and A-
bility of the Pensionary, and declared
every where that the State was very much
obliged to him for his Services, but he
had also bestowed two considerable
Places upon the two Sons of Barne-
veld. The eldest was made Great Master

*The ground of
the misun-
derstanding
between the
Prince of O-
range and
Barneveld,
Pensionary of
Holland.*

1616. of the Forests and Waters in *Holland*,
 Israel's *Hi-* and the youngest had the Government of
Berguenopzoom. Prince *Philip William*,
Reformation, *Brother to Maurice*, came into *Holland*
 l. xxi. G:oti-
 us Apologie-
 tico eorum
 qui Hollan-
 diae pafuc-
 nunt. c. xix. in the year 1614. At this interview of
 the two Brothers, who had not as yet
 been in one anothers Company, *I am*
 surprized, said *Philip* to *Maurice*, that
 you have taken for your Gentleman of the
 Horse, the Son of a Man who has always
 opposed you. I do not matter my own pri-
 vate concerns, answered *Maurice*, it is
 enough for me that his Father is well af-
 fected to the service of the Government, and
 that is sufficient to oblige me to be kind to
 him and his Family. I have often met the
 Pensionary in my way, and he has given
 me not a little disquiet; but however,
 that has not hindred me from bestow-
 ing very good Employments upon his Sons.
 He is a man of an extraordinary Virtue and
 Capacity: He is already stricken in years,
 and I am afraid very great Calamities
 would befall our Republick, if God should
 cut him off before I could wish. Worthy
 sentiments of the Son of that incompara-
 ble *William*, Prince of *Orange*, who lost
 his Life in maintaining the Liberties of a
 Republick which he had founded himself!

In truth, 'tis a most deplorable thing,
 that *Aerffens* and some other flatterers
 should provoke Prince *Maurice* against
 an old man, whose merit had been before
 so generously acknowledged by him,

ROT-

notwithstanding the discontent that *Barneveldt* had given him upon some occasions. The greatest men are not exempt from being guilty of some faults. It seems to me, that fore-sight, or rather a kind of timorousness, which Age and Experience brings upon those who have Governed in a time of troubles and revolutions, was the cause why *Barneveldt* so unseasonably displeased Prince *Maurice*, by endeavouring to lessen in a great measure that Authority, which his place of Captain General gave him in the *United Provinces*. But really, we ought to think that his Excellency would have generously forgiven the good intentions of the Pensionary, as he had done since the conclusion of the Truce, if the Enemies of *Barneveldt* had not poisoned all that he had innocently done, and put sinister constructions upon all the Actions of a Magistrate, who had, as they conceived, too much Power and Authority in the Government.

Barneveldt excused himself as much as possibly he could, from accepting the Place of Pensionary of *Holland*. He had acquitted himself in it with much Honour and Reputation, during the most difficult times of the Commonwealth. But so soon as ever he observ'd that some sort of Men declaimed against the too great Authority he seemed to be possessed of in a free State, and that his Enemies, or those that were jealous of him, endeavoured

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voured to make him suspected by the Prince, as well as the People, he desired several times to lay down his Employment. But the States of *Holland* intreated him, and that very earnestly, not to abandon the care of his Country, seeing that by his wise and irreproachable Conduct, he had brought Affairs into so happy a posture. However, the very trust and confidence that his Country-men had in him, was the occasion of the sad and unfortunate end of a Magistrate, who would have ended his Life full of shining Glory, if he had been permitted to have made his quiet Retirement after the conclusion of the Truce.

Du. Maurice always with well doing, said he to those who gave him an account of the malice of his Enemies; *Let us pray to God, and expect all things from his Goodness.* *Louisa of Coligni*, Princess Dowager of *Orange*, a worthy Daughter, and a worthy Wife of two great Hero's of the precedent Age, had a perfect esteem for this great Politician, and true Christian. This Princess saw with great affliction the misunderstanding which was forming between the Prince her Son-in-law, and the Pensionary. She did forthwith enquire into the reasons of it; and being informed of what had been transacted in the interview of the two Brothers, the Princess concluded from thence, that *Maurice* had not changed his mind as to *Barneveld*, but within a year or therabouts.

A

1616.

A Modern Writer, who, in some other places of his Memoirs, makes great Elogies of Prince *Maurice*, tells us here, ^{The examination of a fact related by du Maurier.} that the boundless Ambition of his Excellency, was the true cause of the mortal hatred he bore to *Barneveld*. It is recorded, that *Cesar* had always in his mind that impious and abominable maxim, which *Homer* puts into the mouth of a Tyrant. *Whenevr a man at-tempts to mount a Throne, he must never nevlt. scruple committing the greatest Injustices that seem to oppose him; but probity on all other occasions ought to be maintained.* Prince *Maurice* (if we will believe this Writer) like that ambitious *Roman*, designed to oppres the liberties of the *United Provinces*, and by that means to make himself Sovereign of them; but in order thereunto, *Barneveld* was to be gained. Wherefore the Prince's Dowager of *Orange*, who had a great influence over him, was to be employed to engage him in the Prince's Interest. And the better and more effectually to prevail with *Louisa de Coligni*, it is said, *Maurice* promis'd her never to marry, but to leave the Succession of this delicate Sovereignty to *Frederick-Henry* the Son of the Prince. But *Barneveld* was so far from agreeing to this Proposal, that he convinced the Prince's of *Orange* by very good reasons, that *Maurice* did not understand his true Interests, that he was infinitely more powerful and more respected.

1616. spected in the Provinces, than he would be if he should ever obtain the Sovereignty he aimed at. *Louisa de Coligni* acquainted *Maurice* with *Barneveldt's* Politicks. But the Prince being much incensed, because the Pensionary refused to assist him in his design, resolved his ruin, and to get rid of him by any means whatsoever. The Disputes about the *Arminianism* presented him with a fair opportunity for executing this his purpose; and he made use of the conjuncture effectually to have *Barneveldt* condemned for an Enemy to his Country. This is what this Writer relates of the matter, and with so much the more confidence, because he affirms he had heard it from his own Father, who was at that time Ambassador from *France* at the *Hague*, to whom the Princess of *Orange* and *Barneveldt* himself had discovered all this pretended Mystery.

A Transaction of such an importance, deserves that a more careful search be made into it. Reason and Equity will not permit us slightly to ascribe to one of the greatest Princes of his Age, (whose History I am now writing) such a wicked and abominable design as this, to attempt the oppressing of the Liberties of a Republick, form'd and establish'd by the prudence and courage of his Father; and which had intrusted him with the greatest Employments they could bestow both in the War and the Government.

A.

A design of sacrificing to his own Ambition the Life of *Barnevelt*, to whom this Prince had so many obligations, and who was so much esteem'd by him both for his Wisdom and Vertues, is a thing so black and flagitious, as that it ought not to be believ'd, that a Soul which was naturally Great and Noble, could ever be guilty of such a thought, except one has the most convincing Proofs of it. I know very well that Ambition oftentimes blinds men illustrious by their Birth and more distinguish'd Merit. Flatterers take care to represent it to them, as a passion worthy the Character of a great Soul. If *du Maurier* the Ambassador had written himself what his Son had publish'd, perhaps the Reputation which that Gentleman had acquir'd by his Virtue and other good Qualifications, might have been a prejudice of some weight against Prince *Maurice*. But here 'tis but a simple hear-say that his Son relates. Besides, he publishes this his pretended secret, at a time when *France*, a declar'd Enemy to the House of *Orange*, labour'd hard to raise Jealousies against that Family in the *United Provinces*, and to make it become odious to them. This was then a way of courting *M. de Lanzo*, and flattering the Passion, which he had inspir'd of jealousy and mistrust against a Prince, who by his Prudence and Courage, was to put the greatest stop to the vast and ambitious designs of *Lewis XIV.*

When,

When, pray, did *Maurice* in vain attempt to solicit *Burneveldt*, and contriv'd that horrid design to ruine him? It can not be but in the year 1615, a little white after Prince *Philip William's* Journey into *Holland*. *Maurice* was before that time very well affected to the *Pensionary*, as the most profis'd *Remonstrants* acknowledg'd themselves. The Life of this *Magistrate* was (according to the Prince's own confession) most necessary for the good of that *Republick*; nothing could oblige Prince *Maurice* to speak thus of him to his Brother in a private discourse. Besides, doth one give the chiefest Employments of the State to the Children of a man, whom he is resolv'd to ruine as his most dangerous Enemy? Oh! this was, as the Writer says, but coldly, the better to cover the design he had laid. But this is a piece of *Politicks*, a little too much refin'd. *Maurice* is contriving how to advance himself to the *Soveraignty*; and at the very same time he commits one of the most important places of the State, to the Son of a Man, who will most vigorously oppose the execution of his designs. One cannot imagine neither, that the Prince should discover himself to *Burneveldt*, after the Interview of the two Brothers. The misunderstanding betwixt them began at that time. *Aerssens* openly threaten'd the *Pensionary*: His Excellency's Favourite discover'd that the Prince mistrusted the *Remonstrants*, and con-

consequently *Barneveld* their Protector. In fine, *Maurice* had no design to rid himself of the Pensionary, at that time when the disputes began in good earnest to grow warm, between the Captain General and the States of *Holland*. *Barneveld* offer'd to *Maurice* then to quit his Employment, in case his Excellency's views were contrary to his own, and to retire out of *Holland*. He desir'd him also to obtain his leave for him of the States of that Province. Is it likely that *Barneveld*, so zealous for the liberty of his Country, should make such an offer to him, if he had been acquainted with his pernicious design? Would not the Prince himself have taken the Pensionary at his word? This would have sav'd him a great deal of trouble. It was not an easy matter to crush, according to the formalities of Law, a Man of the Rank and Reputation of *Barneveld*. But *Maurice* was so far then from having the least thoughts of it, that he desir'd the Pensionary to find out ways for an accomodation. The Historians even of the *Remonstrants* Party, supply me with all this, which I produce against *du Maurier*.

But let us go on with some more positive proofs. *Barneveld* confessed in his Imprisonment, that *He was afraid lest to the Prince should aspire to the Sovereignty, or that he should ascribe more authority to himself, than was allowed him by the constitution of the State. One must not think*

*The life of
Olden Bar-
neveld.*

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it strange, said he again, that a man who has seen so many Revolutions, and whom old age naturally renders timorous, should in some measure be mistrustful. The Pensionary had then only some suspicions of the Conduct and the steps of Maurice. He was not sure whether his Excellency aspired at the Sovereignty, or whether he would only extend his Authority beyond its lawful limits. Would *Barnavel* have laid his suspicion upon the timidity which commonly attends those of his Age and Experience, if *Maurice*, by the solicitation of the Prince's his Mother-in-law, had proposed to him to assist his Excellency in the design he had of advancing himself to the Sovereignty? It appears also by the means that *Barnavel* proposed to his Relations for his own Justification, that there never had been such a Proposition made him, as that of assisting the Prince to obtain the Sovereign Power. *I have plainly spoke my mind to his Excellency*, said he, *and represented unto him the consequences of those fatal discourses, which have come from the Contra-Remonstrants, that they would never be at quiet till they had made the Prince Count of Holland*; *I have been told for a real truth, that a Burgo-master of one of our chiefest Cities, was employed by them to make me that Proposal*; but some Body spoke as from me to the Burgo-Master of it, and he declared solemnly that it was a mistake, and there was nothing at all in it.

This

This shews that the Pensionary's inspic-
tions were then grounded upon the dis-
courses of some violent and bigotted *Con-
tra-Remonstrants*. But the Prince never
engaged any body to feel *Barnevelt's*
Pulie about such a design as *Du Maurier* charges his Excellency with. Would
the Pensionary have gone about to make
any such Remonstrance to the Prince,
if *Louisa de Coligni* had really desired *Bar-
nevelt* to serve *Maurice* in such a design
as this, of raising him up to the Sov-
eraign Power?

In short, it appears to be so far from
ever having entered the Prince's thoughts,
that in the Sentence of Death against
Barnevelt, he had ordered particularly
this to be expressed, that the Criminal had
endeavoured to make his Excellency odious
and suspected, by spreading abroad that
infamous Calumny of him, that he had aspi-
red at the Sovereign Dignity. Now for
a man who had desired his Mother-in-
law to make such a Proposal as is relat-
ed by *Du Maurier*, is it likely that he
should be so void of all Prudence, as
to suffer such a thing to be set down in
a Sentence of Condemnation? This
would have exposed himself to
the utmost Baseness as well as Com-
tempt. The impeached Person might
have called in the Princess Dowager of
Orange to have been a witness, (for she
was not as yet dead), and have caused
her to relate the discourse he had had
with

1616. with her. If this Fact had been true, *Grotius Apo-* *Grotius* to be sure would have known *logico eo* something of it; and how came it to *rum qui Hol-* *landie pre-* *pass*, that he has not mentioned it in the *fuerunt. cap. vindication of Barneveldt*, his intimate *xix. & xx.*

Friend? He only tells us, that those who advised Prince *Maurice* to oppose *Barneveldt*, and the States of *Holland*, were moved to it by some other Reasons than those of Religion. *Grotius* then ascribes the Proceedings of his Excellency against the Pensionary, to the malicious suggestions, and the pernicious Councils of *Aerssens*, and some other Enemies to the Pensionary. He concludes his Apology for *Barneveldt*, and for those that were condemned at the same time with him, with beseeching God that he would please to grant to Prince *Maurice* his Grace for the well governing of the Country, and gaining the love and respect of all the world. I much question whether a man would speak so soberly and piously of a Prince, whom he knew had been guilty of such a horious and crying wickedness, in order to make himself the Tyrant of a free Commonwealth.

I thought my self obliged here to set down my Reflections upon this Fact as it is delivered by *M. du Maurier*. He has given in his Memoirs such a frightful representation of *Maurice Prince of Orange*, that 'tis impossible to preserve any esteem, for a man who is painted

but

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out to us full as ambitious, but withal, more wicked than ever. *Julius Cesar.* 'Tis but just that we should ingenuously examine, what reasons he had for casting such an aspersion upon the Memory of a man who makes so great a Figure in the History of his time. *Maurice* was both as Brave and as Great a Captain as *Cesar* himself. And one should be well pleased to find that a Christian Warriour has at least this advantage over a Heathen General, that he never attempted to oppres his own Country. *Maurice* had his faults: but where is the Prince that has none? If he was ambitious, yet he was never capable of doing any thing unbecoming his high Rank and his great Courage, to gratifie that lesser passion. *Barnevelt* had his jealousies and suspicions, but they were grounded upon the discourses of *Aerssens*, and some hot and violent *Contra-Remonstrants*. He thought himself bound in Duty to take some precautions, which encroached upon the Rights and Authority the Captain-General had always enjoyed since the Foundation of that Republick. The Prince was resolved to maintain them, and to bring down *Barnevelt*, whom some people accused for having taken too much Authority upon him. This was the beginning of a misunderstanding, sufficient to overturn a State which these two Great Men had established themselves, if Prince *Maurice*, being satisfied with his having main-

maintained the Rights belonging to his Character and Office, and brought down a Party that had violently set up themselves against him, had not betook himself now to the re-establishing of Peace and good Orders in the Republick.

As for the Memoirs of M. *du Maurier*, 'tis very likely that his Father, Ambassador from *France* to the States General of the *United Provinces*, at the time of their Intestine Divisions, might have said to his Family, that *Barneveldt* had some reasons to fear, lest *Prince Maurice* should have too vast designs in his Head, and should aim at the Sovereignty; that *Lionel de Coligny* had some private discourses with the Pensionary, about what was then spread abroad by the flattering *Courtiers*. In short, that *Barneveldt* himself might have acquainted the *French* Ambassador with his own mistrust and jealousies. And that thereupon *du Maurier*, Son of the said Ambassador, out of a design to please the Ministers of the *French* King, had built his Romance so injurious to the House of *Orange*.

History is but a representation of varieties and chances, of a continual odd Sort of Game of Human Passions. They are every where the same in *France*, in *Italy*, in *England*, and in the *United Provinces*. As they are more sometimes strong, and sometimes weaker, so they only produce greater or lesser effects, according to the temper of those that are agitated

The return
of
the Prince
Conde to
Paris.

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agitated by them, or according to the merit of the Objects that excite them. Ambition, Covetousness and Hatred, work most violently upon Courtiers, and keep them in a perpetual fluctuation. And yet these Courtiers never seem to be weary. Their Passions are very constant; and at the utmost they do only change their Object. Would not every one have thought, that all things would have been calmer in the Court of *France*, after the conclusion of the Treaty of *Londres*? The young King having brought his new Queen into the Capital City of his Kingdom, it might have been thought that there would have been nothing else minded but Pleasure and Diversion. *Mary de Medice* would have had it so with all her heart; for besides that, her temper was naturally cheerful, the Great Lords being wholly taken up with Gaming, Shews and Gallantry, would not have troubled the Queen-Mother in the enjoyment of that peaceable Authority, which her Son, uncapable of reigning by himself, had entrusted her with. But the Mareschal *de Bonillon*, jealous of giving the first motion to affairs, was then too old. He was then contriving something more solid, as he fancied to himself, but really full out as vain and much more pernicious, than the amusements of the young men of the Court. Mad, because he was not called to the Memoirs of
Author. L. i. secret Councils, and that the Queen-Mother

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Mother did not think (as he did himself) that he was the only man capable of maintaining a good correspondence between her Majesty and the Prince of *Conde*, *Bonillon* had already formed a new Cabal against the *Mareschal d' Ancre*. The Duke of *Guise* was come into it; but the main business was then to bring in *Conde* to joyn with them.

Mary de Medicis, who was acquainted of old with the ways and proceedings of the *Mareschal*, and being perswaded that it highly concerned her forthwith to break off the measures, that this restless and ambitious Lord had lately taken, her Majesty laboured all she could to gain over the Prince of *Conde* to her Interest, and perswade him speedily to come to Court. His highnes was then gone from *Loudun* to his new Government of *Berri*: and seemed resolved to live upon his Estate at *Chateauroux*, until the execution of a certain Article in the Treaty of *Loudun*, concerning the re-establishing of some Officers in the City of *Poitiers*, who had been turned out of their places for having declared themselves for the Prince, at the time of that ridiculous freak, which had taken him two years before in *Poitton*. This Affair, wherein *Conde* had unseasonably ventured his Honour and his Authority, did stick so much to his heart, that he sent *Rochefort* his Favourite to the Court, in order to press the execution of

*Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Medicis.*
*Mercure Fran-
cois*, 1616.

of

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of that Article. But the true design of this errant, was for negotiating the return of the Prince to the Court, and to acquaint himself with the conditions the Queen-Mother designed to offer him. The Court gave to his Highness the fairest promises in the world, and ordered the Mareschal of *Brissac* forthwith to repair to *Poitiers*, and there to perfect the entire execution of the Article of *London*.

They flattered themselves, that after Memoires de Rohan. l. i. such a satisfaction given to the Prince, he would soon return to Court. The Queen Mother and the Mareschal *d'Ancre* pressed hard upon him to consent to it. *Conchini* promised all things imaginable, to obtain the protection of his Highness against the new party formed by the Mareschal *de Bonillon*, and the Duke *de Mayenne*; But two secret and opposite Intrigues still kept *Conde* at *Chateauroux*. The Prince his Mother, and the Countess of *Soissons* joyned together, and endeavoured to gain the favour of the Court by his return; and the Mareschal *de Bonillon* had the same prospect; so that by an odd contrivance of two parties, that were jealous each of the other, and who had their several different views, the Prince was fixed in his resolutions of continuing at *Chateauroux*. Each party Memoires of the Regency of Mary de Medicis. rejoiced, in hopes of bringing him to Court by their own Interest. *Mary de Medicis*, weary'd with these long delays, twice sent *Richelieu*, Bishop of *Lusson*,

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to

1616. to the Prince. This Prelate being out of conceit with the study of controversy, and the Trade of an indifferent Preacher, gave up himself entirely to the Mareschal *d' Ancre*. This he thought the readiest way for him to come at preferment; and *Conchini* obtained for him the Place of Great Almoner to the young Queen. But the good Bishop had quite other designs in his head, than only to serve his Mistress in her Devotions. He had already so far insinuated himself into the Breast of *Mary de Medicis*, that she perceived the Almoner of her Daughter-in-law was more fit to manage an Intrigue at Court, than presenting the Prayer-book and Beads to the Queen. Wherefore from thenceforth *Richelieu* was employed in her Negotiations.

Memoires de Rohan l. i. The first Tryal of his Skill proved very successful. He behaved himself so dexterously with the Prince of *Conde*, that his Highness promised to return to Court, to embrace the Interests of the Queen Mother, and to protect the Mareschal *d' Ancre*. But we are not apt to do any thing for nought. The Prince made his own conditions. *Mary de Medicis* and *Conchini* promised him, that he should have the sole share in the Government, exclusively from all the Lords of his party, and that he should likewise be the head of the Council of the Treasury. This was a delicate Morsel for a covetous Prince, that was as eager to enrich

rich himself as the meanest of all the Treasurers in the Kingdom. The two Errands of the Bishop of *Lucon* much perplexed the Duke *de Mayenne* and the Mareschal *de Bouillon*. Whereupon they dispatched one of their Confidants to his Highness, to discover, if they could, what *Richelieu* had proposed to the Prince, and to divert him from coming to Court. But it was then too late: *Conde* was resolved on it. The dexterous Prelate had so cleverly turned his Head, that he would no longer intreague himself with the Mareschal *de Bouillon*. *I will for the future pass my time away as pleasantly as I can, in minding my own businesses*, said the Prince to the Duke *de Rohan*, when they met at *Paris*. *No more of new Embroylments, I am resolved now to embrace the Interest of their Majesties, and those of the Mareschal d' Ancre. The Artifices of M. de Bouillon shall not prevent it: I am well enough acquainted with them. Peace or War are necessary for the publick good, according as he is pleased or displeased with the Court. I shall not be any more caught by him.* *Conde* arrived at *Paris* the 20th of *June*, and lighted at the *Louvre*, in order to wait on their Majesties: They received him very graciously. The people of *Paris* waited on him with very loud Acclamations and Rejoycings. The Dukes *de Vendôme*, *la Tremouille*, and *Sully*, the Count *de Candale* and other Lords of that party, forthwith repaired

*Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Me-
dicis.
Mercurie Fran-
cois, 1616.*

1616. to *Paris*. The House of *Conde* was as much throng'd with Courtiers, as the *Louvre* it self. *Philip William*, Prince of *Orange*, married to *Eleonora*, Sister to *Conde*, came at that same time to pay his Brother-in-law a visit, whom he found advanced to the utmost heighth of Honour and Authority.

*New contri-
vances of the
great Lords
against the
Mareschal d'
Ancre.*

*Journal de
Bassompierre
Memoirs of the
Regency of Ma-
ry de Medicis.*

The Mareschal d' *Ancre* was impatiently desirous to add to the greatning of his Highness's Court by his attendance; but he was afraid, lest he should not be secure in a City where the Inhabitants hated him so mortally. Wherefore he wrote to *Bassompierre* his very good Friend, and earnestly desired he would meet him with some Horse as far as the Gate called *S. Anthony*. *Conchini* entered into *Paris*, attended by a Guard of about a hundred Horse; and proudly passing by the House of the Duke de *Mayenne*, he went directly to pay his Compliments to the Prince of *Conde*, and to take some measures with his new Protector. *Picard*, the Shoe-maker, being not yet fully satisfied with having seen the two Servants that had so abused him, hanged before his door, and compelled a Mareschal of *France* most shamefully to redeem the Life of his Gentleman of the Horse, resolved to be revenged on *Conchini* himself; Wherefore he endeavoured to raise up his Neighbour against the Mareschal, as he was going to *Conde's* House; but the Shoe-

1616.

Shoe-maker here went beyond his Last. This *Picard* was perhaps the boldest and the most desperate Fellow of all the Enemies this Favourite had. The great Lords leagued against *Conchini* held their private Assemblies, but could come to no resolutions, because they could not agree among themselves. *Bouillon* had in some measure prevailed with the Prince of *Conde*. Whether his Highness had dissembled his true sentiments to the Duke *de Rohan*, or that the Mareschal *de Bouillon* had insinuated some mistrust into him, grounded upon what *Barbin* had hinted to the Marques *de Coeuves*, that the Queen might arrest the Prince, in case he should attempt any thing against the King's Service; his Highness joyned, or at least pretended to joyn himself to the Dukes of *Guise* and *Mayenne*, and to the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, to contrive and agree upon ways how they might destroy *Conchini*.

The Prince of *Conde* met sometimes with these Lords in the night; but they were always divided in their opinions. Some proposed to present a Petition to the Parliament, and to desire them to order Process to be made out for the Tryal of the Mareschal *d' Ancre*. This was certainly the fairest and the most lawful way of ridding themselves of a man, whose Conduct they so mightily cry'd down. But others, who did by no means like the tedious proceedings

1616. of the Law, and feared withal, the Authority of the Queen Mother over the Parliament, were for stealing away the *Mareschal d' Ancre* out of *Paris*, and to carry him into some strong place, which was under their own Command. In short, some amongst them were so base, as to propose, that the best way was to put an end to the business with a blow, and downright to knock their common Enemy on the head. The Duke of *Mayenne*, in a conference where the Prince was not present, proffered himself to run *Conchini* thro the Body with his Sword, if *Conde* would be present when the Fact should be done. *Let us*

Memoires de acquaint the Prince with it, said *Mayenne*.

Rohan l. 1. Take you care of that, reply'd *Bouillon*.

This blow ought first to be struck, and then I will take upon me to obtain the approbation of the Prince. However, let us not acquaint him with the design, until a little before the execution, for fear we should give him time enough to repent of it. But the obstinacy of the Duke de *Mayenne* prevailed over the reasons of the *Mareschal de Bouillon*. The design was imparted to the Prince *Bouillon*, who knew his Highness's temper, better than any of the other Lords, did argue very right, when he urged how dangerous it was to discover to the Prince too much of their design: For at the same time that they were thus deliberating, his Highness was passing his word to *Conchini*, that he would preserve him from all attempts whatsoever against his person.

The

The World is apt to fancy for the most part, that there is a great deal of cunning and dissimulation in some Actions of Princes ; which often is nothing else but the effect of their fantastical temper, or of the irregularity of their mind. Yet notwithstanding *Conde* had his views in all this Intreague. He would have willingly consented to this base and wicked violence, the Duke of *Mayenne* had proposed to commit himself, if all the Enemies of the *Mareschal d' Ancre* would have promised likewise to assist his Highness in taking away the Authority from the Queen Mother. But without that it was indifferent, or rather advantageous for the Prince, that *Conchini*, being constrained by the necessity of his affairs to depend upon his Highness, should continue with *Mary de Medicis*, who suffered her self to be govern'd by that Favourite. *Conde* discovered his intentions in one of the private Conferences he had with the Enemies of *Conchini*. *I am ready to do whatsoever you will*, said the Prince to them, when he saw them perplext at the slowness of their deliberations, which did expose them to the danger of being discovered. *But you may rest satisfied, that the Queen Mother will be revenged of you and me, if we suffer her Majesty still to retain her Authority.* Wherefore we must find out ways how to remove her from Court, or at least from the Affairs of it. Whereupon all the

1616.
*Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Me-
dicis.*

1616. Lords did pull off their Hats; and shewed by their silence, (except only the Duke *de Guise*) that they did approve of his Highness's Proposal. The Hereditary hatred between the Family of the *Bourbons* and of the *Guises*, made the Duke averse to this Proposal. He was not so imprudent as to consent that the whole Authority should devolve upon a Prince who was naturally an Enemy to the House of *Guise*. He had rather that *Mary de Medicis* should govern under the name of her Son. She had some considerations for the *Guises*. There is a great deal of difference, said the Duke, between a design to rid our selves of a stranger who is our common Enemy, and that of ruining the Queen Mother. God forbid that I should involve her Majesty in the Plot now on foot for ruining the Mareschal d' *Ancre*. The Prince of *Conde* was very much displeased with this Answer: But he cunningly dissembled his thoughts. His Highness was penetrating enough to see, that in case *Conchini* should be assassinated, the Indignation of *Mary de Medicis* would wholly fall upon him, and that the Duke of *Guise* alone would reap the benefit of that Crime which should be committed by the others; wherefore so soon as ever the Conference was ended, he sent for *Barbin*. *Conde* discovered to him a great part of the secret, and promised him that he would protect the Mareschal d' *Ancre*, and would

would preserve him from all the dangers wherewith he was threatened.

Charles de Valois, natural Son to King *Charles IX.* Count *d' Auvergne*, and since Duke *d' Angouleme*, (we will call him in the series of this History by that last name, to avoid confusion) *Valois*, I say, had been kept a Prisoner in the *Bastille* every since the year 1605. for a Conspiracy cartied on against *Henry IV.* He neither wanted Wit, nor Courage, nor Ability for business: In a word, he had all the qualifications befitting a person of his Quality. But he loved Money to such an excess, that some say he counterfeited it. This shews, that persons of the highest Elevation, are sometimes capable of doing the lowest and basest Actions. *Mary de Medicis*, who laboured hard to strengthen her self against the Prince of *Conde*, whom still she mistrusted, notwithstanding all the fair words and assurances he gave both her Majesty and the Mareschal *d' Ancre*; the Queen-Mother, I say, resolved to set *Angouleme* at Liberty, and thereby to engage him to her Service and Interest; after the Prisoner was come out of the *Bastille*, the Duke of *Nevers* was ordered to resign to him the Place of Collonel-General of the Light Horse, which *Gonzagues* had obtained after *Valois* was condemned. This engaged him more and more to serve *Mary de Medicis*, and to oppose both the new party that had been for-

Journal de Bissompiere.
Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.

Mercurie Francais.
1616.

1616. 1. by the Mareschal de Bouillon, and the attempts of the Duke de Longueville in Picardy.

*Attempts of
the Duke de
Longueville
in Picardy.*

He being weary of so long a Confinement in a Country-house, whether he had retired after the Treaty of Loudun, and impatient that the Dutches his Mother was not able to do any thing for him at Court, Longueville resolved to follow the advice given him, of going unto his Government of Picardy. The Subaltern Officers of that Province were almost all of them at his Devotion, and the Inhabitants of the chiefest Towns were willing to receive him. Your Presence in Picardy, said his Friends to him, is the only way we can conceive likely to advance your Affairs, which are kept so long in suspense by the credit of the Mareschal d' Ancre. When the Queen Mother shall be informed that you are there, she will perhaps continue you in your former Government, or else give you in exchange the Government of Normandy. But so long as you shall continue quiet at home, you must not think that your Affairs will go on of themselves. The Court is well pleased with keeping you at this uncertainty. Longueville acquainted the Duke de Mayenne, and the Mareschal de Bouillon with his design, which they immediately approved of, for besides that, those two Lords were well pleased in gaining over to their Party another powerful Nobleman, they were further convinced that

it would create new perplexities to the
Mareschal d' Ancre. *Mayenne* and *Bou-
illon* proffered their services to *Longue-
ville*, and engaged the Duke of *Guise* to
do the like.

Longueville went then to *Picardy*. The Inhabitants of *Abbeville* opened the Gates of their City to him. He proceeded to *Corbie*; and there he managed so dexterously the secret Intelligences he had at *Peronne*, that he took away by force the Government of that Place from *Con-
chini*. The Duke entred into the City, and after a very little opposition, the Garrison of the Castle was surrendered to him. This made a great noise at Court, inasmuch, that *Mangot*, Secretary of State, was forthwith dispatched with express Orders to the D. to go on no further, and to the Inhabitants to oppose him, and not receive him into their Town. But all things were over when *Mangot* arrived there. Whereupon the Queen Mother was advised to take care, lest she should expose both the King and her own Authority, and to get *Peronne* out of the hands of the Duke de *Longueville*, by way of Negotiation. The Prince of *Con-
de* seemed discontented at this attempt, and proffered his Services to *Mary de
Medicis*. *Madam*, said he, give leave
only to the Mareschal de *Bouillon* to go to
Picardy, and he will prepare the Duke de
Longueville to restore matters as they were
before the Invasion of *Peronne*. *Bouillon*
dis-
Memoirs of
Rohan l. i.
Journal de
Ballaupierre.

1616.

discoursed the matter with *Longueville* twice, but could gain nothing from him. Nor is it a wonder: The Mareschal had no mind to conclude the Affair. He rather laboured to perswade the Duke to keep his Conquest, and to joyn himself closer to the Party that was formed against *Conchini*, his Enemy. Wherefore the Queen Mother at last resolved to send some Troops out of the King's Guards towards *Peronne*, under the Command of the Duke d' *Angouleme*.

*Le Mareschal d'Ancre
retires into
Normandy.
Journal of
Bassompierre,
Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Medici.*

My Lord *Hay*, Baron of *Sawley*, and since Earl of *Carlile*, was then at *Paris*, in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of Great Britain. He was sent to Compliment young King *Lewis* upon his Marriage, and upon the Pacification of the intestine commotions of *France*.

It was then the general opinion that the secret design of his coming over was, to propose again the Marriage of *Charles* Prince of *Wales* with *Madam Christina*, Sister to the King. However, he did not propose it. This Embassy was very magnificent; many great Lords of *England* had accompanied *Sawley*. Several persons of the first Rank in the Court of *France*, in emulation one of another, strove who should best entertain the Ambassador and the *English* Lords. *Conde* also resolved to give them an Entertainment; and the greatest Enemies of the Mareschal d' *Ancre* were invited to it. I do not know how it came into

into Conchini's head to make a visit to his Highness upon the day of this Feast, and at the very time too that his Enemies were all at *Conde's* House. When they heard that *Conchini* was coming up to them, they remonstrated to the Prince, that they ought not to let slip so fair an opportunity of putting in execution the design they had taken of ridding themselves of an insolent Stranger, who came attended by thirty Gentlemen, on purpose to brave and affront them again. *Conde* excused himself from violating the Sacred Rights of Hospitality. *Such an Action*, said he, *shall never be committed in my House*. You may find out opportunities enough to murther *Conchini*. Whilst they were thus discoursing, the Mareschal *d'Ancre* came into the Hall where the Entertainment was given, and there he spoke a while with the Prince in private. When the Mareschal was taking his leave of him, his Enemies set themselves to look scornfully at him, and he did the like at them; for he wanted neither Pride nor Arrogance.

Conde sent presently the Archbishop of *Bourges* to *Conchini*, to advertise him as from his Highness, of the ill designs contrived against him, and to advise him to retire from Court, and the next day to come to the *Hostel de Conde*. *Yesterday*, said his Highness to the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, *I had very much ado to keep in your provoked Enemies. I am no longer*

Master

16. Master of them. For God's sake go, and take a turn into Normandy. You have the Lieutenantcy of that Province, there you will be secure. Conchini gave his Highness thanks for his intimation, and pretended that he would always depend upon his Favour and Protection; though at the same time he did not doubt but that he was entered into some Engagements-against him. The Mareschal promised however to follow his good advice; and the next morning he set out for Caen. But the revengeful Italian had before his departure taken such measures, as to make his most powerful Enemies, and even the Prince of Conde himself sensible, that he was still in a capacity not only to withstand them, but also to overthrow all their projects.

Mary de Medicis resolues to have the P. of Conde and some Lords arrested.

Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.

Memoirs of Bohan, l. 1.

Mary de Medicis hearkened very much to the advices of Barbin her Steward, whom she had made Comptroller General of the Finances. This man, who wanted neither address nor foresight, had often represented to the Queen Mother, that she should not flatter herself of being able to cure with ordinary Remedies, the Distempers which the continual Intrigues of the Mareschal de Bouillon had brought upon her Majesty. The surest and the shortest way for your Majesty to come out of these Troubles, said Barbin to her, is to arrest the Prince, and those that are of his Cabal. Conchini, who was more sensible of his own Interests, than those

those of the Queen Mother, was afraid 1616.
that such an attempt should raise both
the Town and the Court against him,
and that he should not have time enough
to prevail with *Galigai* his Wife to retire
into *Italy*. The Mareschal *d'Ancre* being
deceived by the Promises of the Prince of
Conde, which hitherto he had taken to be
sincere and effectual, did sweeten the
advice of *Barbin*, or at least deferred the
execution of it to another time. But after-
wards, when he came to reflect upon
the advice his Highness had given him
to quit the Court, he did not doubt any
longer, but it was only an honourable
pretence to abandon a man, for whom
he had still some regard, because of the
express promises he had made him.
Wherefore from that time forward *Con-
cbini* followed headlong the violent coun-
sels of *Barbin*. He represented to the
Queen Mother that the Mareschal *de Bou-
illon* deceived her, that the Great Lords
had conspired to deprive her of her Au-
thority, and that there was no other way
for breaking their Measures, but to secur-
the person of the Prince of *Conde*, and
the Heads of his Party. The Mareschal
d'Ancre, before his going away, earnest-
ly recommended to his three Creatures,
Mangot, *Barbin*, and the Bishop of *Lu-
con*, to press on *Mary de Medicis*, and
to incline her to follow the Counsels that
Barbin had already given her.

1616.

*The Pope's
Nuncio en-
deavours to
reconcile the
Prince and
some Lords to
the Queen
Mother.*

*Journal of
Bastompiere*

At last her Majesty resolv'd upon it, when she perceiv'd that her interest was sinking, and that the Prince's Authority was increasing every day, since *Conchini* had withdrawn himself from her. The Courtiers, who were amaz'd that the Queen Mother's great Favourite durst stay no longer at *Paris* than just during the Prince's pleasure, made all the haste they could to *Conde's* Houle, to make an Interest for themselves, and to gain the Protection of his Highness. But *Mary de Medicis*, desirous to do things with over-great caution and security, let slip several fair opportunities, and by her delays gave the People time to penetrate into her Designs. In a Court divided into several Parties and Factions, where every one has different Interests to manage for themselves, 'tis mighty difficult to keep the most important Resolutions very secret. The Pope's *Nuncio* was labouring very hard to reconcile the Prince and the Lords to the Queen. He spoke to this purpose to her Majesty, he exhorted *Conde* to a Re-union, and endeavoured all he could to sweeten the asperity of the Dukes of *Guise*, *Mayenne* and *Vendome*. In a word, he employed all his Skill and Eloquence to compromise matters. *Conde* was not much averse to come to an agreement with *Mary de Medicis*. But the Mareschal de *Bouillon* and the others threatened that they would abandon his Highness, in case he once reconciled himself.

1616.

self to the Queen Mother. We are offered very good terms, said they to the Prince, if we will serve that very same person, who labours to gain you over to her Interest, and will not fail to accept of them, so soon as you shall think of leaving us. Conchini will not long keep fair with you, when he shall see that you are forsaken by your Party.

Whether the Duke of Sulli had in his thoughts the Publick Good, or was waiting for an opportunity to come again into busines, or rather had a design to dis- appoint the projects of the Mareschal de Bouillon his irreconcilable enemy; how- ever he kept himself in favour with the Queen Mother, and the Prince of Conde. He represented to them both, that mat- ters could not continue long in that vio- lент posture they now were, and that one of the Parties must needs prevail over the other, except they would shortly come to an accommodation.

Madam, said the Duke to *Mary de Medicis*, I think my self bound in duty to tell your Majesty, that in less than a weeks time the whole Authority will fall into the hands of the Prince, if you do not think in good earnest to keep it in your own. The Ballance inclines too much already to the side of the House of Conde. The attempt of the Duke of Longueville in Picardy, and the confinement of the Mareschal d' Ancre, your Servant, affords but too much talk in the world. That Prince seems already to have the whole Authority in the Kings Council:

Remon-
frances of the
Duke of Sulli
to Mary de
Medicis.

Journal of
Baffompiere.

ke:

1616. *he is almost master of all the affairs. And indeed, I do not know whether you are secure in the Louvre itself. Perhaps that in the present disposition of the minds, both of the Great Lords and the People, your Majesties, and the Children of France, would be more safe in the Field, under a guard of the Kings household. Pray, Madam, pardon the boldness I take in speaking thus to you. But I should be wanting to my duty, and should acknowledge but very ill the kindness I have received from the late King, if I did not acquaint your Majesty with the Calamities that I foresee. Good God, said the Queen, after she had heard Sully with patience, I find men enough to give me counsel, but meet with none that can shew me proper Remedies, that will help me to cure the maladies they discover to me. I have done all that lay in my power, humanely speaking. God hath not been pleased to bless my labours, and the world will not acknowledge my good and pious intentions. What measures therefore must I take now? I have given the*

*ix e. almost
the full pow-
er.*

** Pen to the Prince, I have disarmed the King, I have removed the Marechal d' Ancre from a place that was most acceptable to him, to oblige the Duke de Longueville; in short, I have removed him from the Court, to the end that I might satisfie those who will not endure him there. Have you any other advice to give me? I will be ready to follow your counsel, if it may be but conduicible to the King's service.*

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The Duke did not think convenient to explain himself any further. He only entreated the Queen Mother to take into her serious consideration the Remonstrances he had taken the liberty to lay before her. *If your Majesty should neglect the Advice I now give you*, added he, *with an elevated voice, I Protest against all the evil consequences that may attend such a Remissness.* You are precaution'd of it, Madam, and if you do not take care to prevent what may happen, it will from henceforward be your own fault. We do not certainly know what might be the secret Intentions of this old and Able Courtier. All we can guess at is, that he made these paces in concert with the Duke *de Rohan*, and perhaps it might be the design of them both to advance their own Interests, in their effecting a Reconciliation between *Conde* and the Queen Mother. 'Tis certain, that *Rohan* and *Sully* did not design the ruin of the Prince; but they might be affraid that if his Highness once became too powerful, he might then sacrifice them to the Resentment of the Mareschal *de Bouillon*. A divided Authority betwixt *Mary de Medicis* and *Conde* was much better for them in their Circumstances. They were in hopes the Princes who had intimated to them, that they very well understood the Artifices of *Bouillon*, and were resolved no longer to hearken to him, would then desert him without much Ceremony, and that rest-
ing.

1616. ing satisfied with the reasonable advantages the Queen should make him, *Conde* would for the future rely in some measure upon them as well as *Mary de Medicis*, to whom they should by this do a very considerable piece of service. But notwithstanding all this, they bent upon following the violent methods that *Caligai* and the Creatures of *Conchini* were continually suggesting to her.

The Queen Mother makes choice of The mines, for the apprehending of the Prince of Conde.

Journal of Baffompiere.

She kept round about *Paris*, upon several pretences, the Troops that were to march towards *Peronne*, and join those which the Duke *d' Angouleme* commanded there. They daily expected at Court to see that person of trust and execution, whom the Queen Mother would make use of for apprehending the first Prince of the Blood, and some of the greatest Lords of the Kingdom. *Themines* (a man whose eager desires to raise his Fortune, made him capable of undertaking any thing) got himself acquainted with *Barbin*, whilst their Majesties continued at *Bourdeaux*. He readily offered, with all the assurance in the world, his services to the Confident of the Queen Mother and the *Mareschal d' Ancre*. *I beg the favour of you*, said he to him, *if in case there happens any thing important and dangerous to be put in execution, that you would please to be so much my Friend, as to endeavour to persuade her Majesty to employ me in it. I will gladly Sacrifice my life for her service.* Since *Mary de Medicis* had resolved to fol-

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follow the advice that *Villeroy* had given her, not to be afraid to put the Pen into the hand of a man, whose Arm she might hold whenever she pleased, *Barbin* recommended *Themines* to her Majesty, as a brave Officer, who was ready to undertake any thing, and engag'd he would not stick at the person of the Prince of *Conde*, if she once found it necessary for her service to have him secur'd. Some had taken care to have *Themines* at Court, when the Duke of *Sully* made his Remonstrances.

Bassompierre was not only busied with the affairs of War and Gallantry; he had also a Genius fit for the Intrigues of a Court, and oftentimes did not speak amiss as to Politicks. He adventured likewise to give *Mary de Medicis* his thoughts upon what he observ'd at Court. *Madam*, said he to her with a free and genteel Air, *Bassompierre* all your good Servants are much surprized at your drowsiness. Some men assume too much upon your Authority; and you are pleased to be quiet. Good men are discourag'd by it, and others run full speed to *Conde's* House and *Levee*. The Prince has raised himself so much since his return to Paris, that it is generally believed he is more powerful than yourself. I beseech you, *Madam*, forgive me this presumption, your Majesty knows the Integrity of my intentions. The Queen Mother gave a sufficient intimation, that the Zeal and Freedom of *Bassompierre* was very pleasing to her, and that

Mary de Medicis makes herself sure of some Courtiers, from whom she requires a new Oath of Allegiance.
Journal of Bassompierre

1616. that she relied upon his Fidelity. Do not you fancy that I am so much asleep, reply'd her Majesty to him; But some business requires a great deal of time before they be dispatched; serve me well, and do not suffer the Ladies to persuade you to do any thing prejudicial to my Interests. He very well understood what Mary de Medicis meant by those last words. She design'd the Princess of Conti, with whom this fortunate Gentleman had kept a Commerce of Gallantry for a long time. This Illustrious Mistress being fallen out with the Mareschal d'Ancre's Wife, espoused openly the party of the Duke of Guise her Brother, and Conchonius's declar'd enemy. The Queen Mother was so far from being asleep, that having resolved to make herself sure of some Courtiers, whom in raillery they called then the Seventeen Lords, in whose number were Cinqui, Bassompierre and S. Geran, her Majesty sent for them one after another, and caused them to take as it were a new Oath of Allegiance; whereby they bound themselves to serve the Queen Mother, and not to enter into any other Party whatsoever, but her own.

The Prince of Conde is ar-
rested in the Louvre. The Prince of Conde, attended by the Dukes de Mayenne and Vendome, and the Mareschal de Bonillon, went to wait upon the Queen Mother the thirtieth of August. Each of them had only brought his Gentleman of the Horse; they continued about an hour and a half in Mary de

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Medicis's Chamber. *Galigai* and *Barbin* were of opinion, that so fair an opportunity as this ought not to be slipt, for securing them all four at once. *The Bassompierre mines* was there ready with 5 or 6 stout Fellows, his own Companions. The Guard was strong at the *Louvre*; and in all appearance there was no danger to be apprehended. The *Mareschal d'Ancre* and *Barbin* spoke several times to their Mistress of it, and represented to her, with what ease the resolution taken so long ago might be put in execution.

Mary de Medicis did own it; but she had a mind first, that all things should be got ready for her own safe retirement to *Meudon*, with the King her Son, the young Queen, and the Children of *France*, in case the Inhabitants of *Paris* should make a rising, when this Blow should be given. Wherefore all things being not then sufficiently prepar'd, as the Queen Mother would have them, she deferr'd the execution of her design till the first day of *September*. Strange and extravagant agitations of *Despite*, *Revenge* and *Ambition*! *Mary de Medicis* says she is resolved to keep up her Authority: and yet by her own confession, she exposes herself to lose it intirely, and so throw likewise her young Son into terrible perplexities: If the Inhabitants of *Paris* rise to oppose such a violence done to the person of the first Prince of the Blood, what would become of this im-

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prudent Queen? She must in all haste fly for it with the King: She must carry away *her little strong Box and her Jewels*. A mighty help of Treasure: And after so shameful a retirement, how can she be able to preserve an Authority that is so dear to her? She must of necessity give it up, or else enter into a Civil War: Unhappy condition of Princes, who will blindly follow the Counsels of an Ambitious and Revengeful Favourite!

*Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Medicis.*

Whether the often comings and goings which were taken notice of when the Prince and the three Lords were in the Queen Mothers Chamber, had given any occasion of jealousie to the Duke de *Mayenne* and the Mareschal de *Bonillon*, or whether they had received any secret notice; however from that time these two Lords began to keep themselves upon the guard. *Bonillon* kept close at home, under pretence of being somewhat indisposed, *Mayenne* went to see him; and after having consulted for some time together, they agreed upon this, to give the Prince warning that he should retire from *Paris*, or at least absent himself the next day from the Council. *Conde*, being deceiv'd with the fair promises which the subtle intreaguing *Barbin* was continually repeating to him as from the Queen Mother, could by no means get it into his head that he had any reason to be apprehensive of any danger to himself. *If there is any secret and violent design*, said he,

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he, that mostly concerns the Mareschal de Bouillon, whose restless temper will not let the Queen Mother be at quiet. Let him take care of himself, if he will. When he shall be sent to the Bastille, will my Affairs be ever the worse for that? But Bouillon and Mayenne were wiser than his Highness. The former of them played the devout man, and went the next day to Charenton, attended with several of his Friends, and some Souldiers of his Guards. The other kept at home, was upon a strict watch, and prepared every thing ready to be gone from Paris, in case he should be in the least danger.

On Thursday the first of September, Mary de Medicis rose before three a Clock in the morning. She gave the necessary orders for arresting the Prince of Conde, and the heads of his Party; and prepared herself for her delicate and glorious retirement to Mante, in case the Inhabitants of Paris should oppose the Imprisonment of the first Prince of the Blood, which had been resolved upon, that so Conchini might Reign; for, in short, the bottom of all the business lay there. Conde went in great Pomp and State to the Council about ten in the morning, and was mightily pleased to see men thronging about him to deliver their Petitions. The Queen Mother beheld him with a scornful indignation, and giving her self up to the secret joy with which the approaching Revenge

*Journal of
Bassompierre*

1616.

inspired her, *Here is now the King of France*, said she to *Bassompierre*, *But his Royalty shall be like that of the Bean: It will not continue long.* The Duke de *Mayenne* was all on the scout: He had his Spies in every corner. Wherefore he was soon informed, that they were in extraordinary motions at the *Louvre*. No longer doubting therefore but that there was some black design hatch'd against the Prince of *Conde*, he sent *Thianges* to him, to acquaint him, that if he went to the *Louvre*, he would certainly be apprehended. But it was too late, his Highness was already got into the Council Chamber. *Thianges* was waiting for him at the door, and making his Reverence to the Prince, as his Highness was coming out, he told him what the Duke de *Mayenne* had heard, or guessed at. *If such a Resolution be taken*, answered *Conde*, *I cannot now get off.* He was then going to the Queen's Chamber. Two of the *Guards du Corps* set as two extraordinary Centinels at the door, convinced him that what had been told him was but too true. However, he went in, and the young King, who had been carefully brought up in the art of dissimulation, invited him to go a hunting with him. *Conde* desired his Majesty at that time to excuse him. Then King *Lewis* pretending to go away and see his Mother, who had withdrawn herself into her Closet, *Theni-*

Mercure
Francois,
1616.

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nes coming up to the Prince, with his two Sons, arrested him in the King's name.

He was surprized at this accident, though it seems *Thianges* had prepared him for it. *My Lord*, said *Themines* to him in a very respectful manner, *the King having been certainly informed, that you hearken to bad Counsel, and such as is prejudicial to his service, and that some persons have been tampering to gain you over to a Faction, that is both contrary to the Peace of the Kingdom, as well as your own Quality, his Majesty has ordered me to secure your person, for fear you should fall into some worse snares.* Who? I? answered the Prince in some kind of amazement, *Yes, your self, my Lord*, reply'd *Themines*, at the same time as his two Sons were coming up on each side of his Highness. *You know very well that I am the first Prince of the Blood*, said he again. *I know, my Lord, the respect that is due to you*, reply'd *Themines*, *but I must obey the King.* It was to no purpose that the Prince demanded Audience of their Majesties. They had no mind either to see him, or to hear what he had to say in his own Justification; *Will you please to go, my Lord, where the King has ordered me to conduct you*, said *Themines* boldly unto him.

1616.

Du Vair,
Keeper of the
Great Seal,
and the Duke
of Sulli, are
against the
Imprisonment
of the Prince
of Conde.
Gramond
Historiarum
Galliarum. I. ii.

It is reported that his Highness, transported with anger, turned himself towards those who were then in the Queen Mother's Chamber, and asked if there was no body that had courage enough to declare himself in his behalf. And having perceived *Du Vair*, the Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir, said *Conde* to him, *I know that you are a Man of Honour. Have you advised them thus to break the solemn promises they have so often made me?* *Du Vair* generously answered, that they had not consulted him in this matter, and that he should be for their speedy repairing the wrong measures they had taken. *For in short, said he, the shortest Follies are the best.* Had *Du Vair* passed for a Courtier, I should hardly believe he would have expressed himself in so unbecoming a manner. The Queen Mother, who was already prejudic'd against the Keeper of the Great Seal, soon after punishe'd him, for his having so publickly and contemptuously disapproved what she had so well acquitted her self of. The Duke of *Sulli* was neither less sincere, nor less upright than *du Vair*. When *Mary de Medicis* asked him what was his opinion concerning the Prince of *Conde's* Imprisonment, the old Minister of State intimated enough, that he could by no means approve of so rash an Enterprize. His advice was to bring the business to an accommodation, through the Mediation of the Pope's *Nuntio*,

Nuntio, and some Foreign Ambassadors, 1616.
so that the whole Authority might remain in the King and the Queen Mother. But that good Prince had then her thoughts upon nothing else but force and violence.

In the mean time *Themines* had carried the Prince of *Conde* to the place prepared for the keeping of him. 'Tis reported that when the Prince saw *Delbene* attended by a great number of Halberdeers, he had some apprehensions lest they should make an attempt upon his Life. But *Delbene* soon removed those fears from him, by telling him, that those whom he saw there were Gentlemen, and not Assassins, and that they had only orders to guard him. An Historian (but a very great Enemy to the Reformed in *France*) relates, that the Prince having seen the Duke *de Rohan*, his Highness expressed himself to him after the same manner he had done to the Keeper of the Great Seal. But the Duke, adds the Writer, was neither so honest, nor so sensible of the Prince's ill treatment, as the good Magistrates had been. *I do approve all things the Queen Mother does: She or less nothing but what is just and reasonable.* Thus does this Historian bring in a Lord speaking, who was eminent both for his Wit and his Virtue. Whenever a President of a Sovereign Court sets himself to write the History of his time, he ought at least to perform it

There is no ground for what is related of the Duke *de Rohan*'s having insulted the Prince of *Conde*'s misfortune.
Memoirs of the Regency of Mary *de Medicis*.

1616.

*Memoirs of
the Duke of
Rohan, l. i.*

with some Judgment and Equity. This able Minister had read the Memoirs of *M. de Rohan*, for he quotes them. Why then not take notice that the fact which he relates, does in no wise agree with that piece the Duke has written so ingenuously and so sincerely? After the Prince's Confinement, *S. Geran* went from the King to look for the Duke *de Rohan*. *Conde* did not see him, when *Themines* conducted his Highnes into the Hall that was prepared for his Prison; and *Rohan* fessed ingenuously that he was frighten'd at that Message, tho he had then quite withdrawn himself from the Intreagues of the Prince of *Conde*. Besides, it is plain, that the Duke *de Rohan* and the Duke *de Sulli* his Father-in-law, were both of the same opinion as to this proceeding of the Queen Mother. And who could imagine, that so wise and generous a Lord, would, from a pitiful and base adulmentation, insult the misfortune of the first Prince of the Blood?

*The Lords
who were en-
emies to the
Marechal d'
Ancre, retir'd
in haste out
of Paris.**Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Me-
dicis.*

So soon as it was known in Town what had been done at the *Louvre*, all the great Lords of the Prince of *Conde*'s Party, that had been against the Marechal d' *Ancre*, were preparing theniselves to leave *Paris*, and the Gentlemen who had espoused the Interests of the Family of *Lorrain*, made haste, soone to the House of the Duke *de Guise*, and others to the Duke *de Mayenne*'s. The Duke *de Vendome* was the most nimble of them all, for

for he fled first. *S. Geran* went to his House, with orders from the King to arrest him: But the Duke, fore-warned of his coming, was gone before-hand. When the Duke *de Mayenne*, who had been watching for three whole days together, heard that the Gates of the *Louvre* were shut, he forthwith retired into his own House, with a design to get out of *Paris* as soon as possibly he could. The Duke *de Guise*, no less frightened than the rest, sent to *Mayenne*, to enquire of him, whether he should expect him at his House, or if he would call upon him at *Guise's*. *Mayenne*, who had got a hundred or sixscore Gentlemen to attend him, promised to call upon *Guise*. Just as he was going to set out, a man came to acquaint him, that the Mareschal *de Bouillon* in his return from *Charenton*, waited for him near *S. Anthony's Gate*. After they had conferr'd a while together, they resolv'd to enter again into *Paris*, to join the Duke *de Guise*, to cause an Insurrection of the People, and to make (if possibly they could) such Barricado's, as in the time of K. *Henry III.* But this design took no effect, because of a Message they received from the Duke *de Guise*. He sent them word that the King and the Queen Mother having commanded his attendance at the *Louvre*, he could in no wise excuse his Disobedience; but he was in hopes he should find out a way to make his escape in the evening, and to

1616. join them in the way to *Soiffons*, which was the Road, as he fancied, they would take in all likelihood. *Mayenne* and *Bouillon* did look on one another very wistly. The Duke *de Guise*'s conduct seemed very dark to them, and they doubted not but that he would make the Court pay very dear for him in the present Conjunction: And being full of mistrust (which men are always most apt to be in their Circumstances) they set forwards toward *Soiffons*.

*They attempt
to make the
Inhabitants
of Paris to
rise.*

*Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Me-
ricq.*

*Mercure Fran-
cois, 1616.
Journal de
Bastampierre.*

They were hardly gone two miles and a half, but they sent some of their men to *Paris*, to enquire about the Duke of *Vendome*. They did not know what was become of him. The same persons had also Orders to discourse *Picard* the Shoemaker: he was become a man of Importance ever since he had been cudgell'd by the command of the *Marechal d' Ancre*, and was grown into great vogue and esteem among the people. *Mayenne* and *Bouillon* acquainted him, that in case he would stir up the Mob, they would come back again to *Paris* attended with five hundred Troopers well armed, to stand by them in whatever he should think fit to attempt. The Shoemaker shewed his utmost endeavours, but neither he, nor the Dowager of *Conde*, nor some of her Son's Domesticks, were able to do any thing. The Princes and her Servants did all they could to make an Insurrection among the People, by crying out, *To Arms,*

Arms, to Arms : The Mareschal d' Ancre, said they, causes the first Prince of the Blood to be murdered in the Louvre. The Inhabitants of Paris did not much stir out, they only shut up their Shops. The Mobile indeed got together in the Suburbs called *Fauxbourg S. Germain*, and went up to the Houle of the Mareschal d' Ancre, (tis now the House for Extraordinary Ambassadors.) They broke open the doors, and gutted the House of its Rich Movables, to the value of two hundred thousand Crowns. There were endeavours used to stop these disorders, but the enraged People were so tumultuous that they respected no body. *Liancourt*, Governour of Paris, was obliged to return back as he went. The Court was not sorry to see them spend their fury upon the Houses of *Conchini* and *Corbinelli* his Secretary.

The Duke de Guise, uncertain how the Queen Mother was inclined; (for, in short, he was afraid that the Mareschal d' Ancre, whose open Enemy he had declared himself to be, had too far prepossessed her Majesty against him.) Guise, I say, thought that it was his best way to send first *Chevrenon* his Brother to the Louvre, under the pretence of receiving their Majesty's orders ; but the true design was to examine into the posture of their common affairs at Court, and if it were possible, to penetrate the Intentions

*Some particu-
lars of the re-
tirement of
the Duke de
Guise.*

of

1616.

of the Queen Mother. *Mary de Medicis* was so mightily taken up with giving out her Orders, (for it was a very busie day with her) that she never minded the Compliments of the Duke *de Chevreuse*, nor thought of returning any answer to him. But afterwards she recovered herself, and reflected on her distraction; and for fear lest *Chevreuse*, surprized at so bad a Reception, should go and put his Eldest Brother into greater alarms, she sent immediately the Marquis *de Praflain* to the *Hotel de Guise*, with orders to assure the Duke that their Majesties would be very glad to see him at the *Louvre*. *That is very well, Sir*, answered *Guise* to *Praflain*: but can I go thither safely upon your Word and Honour? *Sir*, replied the Marquis, I am an exact Reporter of what their Majesties have ordred me to tell you. It behoves you to examine your Conscience, and to see whether it does allow you to go to the *Louvre*. This general and ambiguous answer increased the mistrust and suspicion of the Duke *de Guise*. Wherefore he, accompanied by *Chevreuse* his Brother, took the Road that led to *Soissons*, and arrived there before the Duke *de Mayenne* and the Mareschal *de Bonillon*. *Vendome* was already in *Picardy*, where being just like to be taken, he fled to *la Fere*, a place that he was Governour of.

Thomines
and Montig-
ni are both
made Mares-
chals of
France.

Mary de Medicis fancied that this would be a day of Victory and Triumph

to

1616.

to her; but it proved the beginning of her approaching disgrace, and of her principal misfortunes. She was so well pleased at what those men had done, that that very evening she rewarded those who had served her so effectually in her glorious Expedition, *Themines* was created Mareschal of *France*. His Exploit was admirable and beneficial. He had seized Journal de Bassompierre as a Prisoner the first Prince of the Blood, disarmed and without defence, in the Queens Mother's Chamber. We shall in a little while at this rate see a Dignity, heretofore so considerable, and highly valued, to be most shamefully prostituted; for it will be bestowed upon Assassins as a Reward. It seems that *Mary de Medicis* had taught her Son these delicate precepts. *Montigni*, an ancient and a brave Officer, happily for himself arrived that very day at *Paris*, and fell exclaiming that he deserved a Mareschal's Staff better than *Themines* did. Wherefore the Court was likewise forced to content him, and so they made him too a Mareschal of *France* as well as the other. It was also very lucky for him, that the Queen Mother had not been informed, that he had met with the Duke of *Vendome* in his way, and lent him some fresh Horses, to hasten his escape; otherwise *Montigni* might have commended his past services as much as he pleased, but it would have been all to no purpose, for he should never have gotten the Battalion.

SS.

1616.

S. Geran finding that the ready way to preferment and getting of Honours in a day of Liberality and Rejoycing such as this, was only to make a noise, he fell a declaiming too in his turn, says *Bassompierre*, pleasantly enough. The Court stopt his mouth with a Brief, by which his Majesty promis'd to make him a Mareschal of *France* at the next promotion. In short, *Crequi* obtain'd for himself the King's Brief for being a Duke and Peer of *France*. He had well guarded the Gate of the *Louvre*, whilst they arrested the Prince of *Conde*.

Bassompierre look'd upon all these shameful proceedings with scorn and indignation. He laughed within himself at this base and ridiculous way of obtaining the first dignities of the Kingdom by abusing the timorousness of a Queen, who was wholly taken up with getting Creatures at any price whatsoever, to protect her against those who opposed the ruin of the first Prince of the Blood, and the rising of *Conchini*. *What is the master Bassompierre*, said *Mary de Medicis* to him in a pleasant humour, *that thou dost not ask me any thing to day*. *Madam*, answered he with a noble haughtiness, *I have not performed such considerable services, to make me so vain as to beg such Rewards from your Majesty for them, I have done my duty; I have obey'd the orders that you have been pleased to give me, in what concerns my place of Coltonel Gener-*

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ral of the Swiflers. When I shall have deserved by some Gallanter and more illustrious Actions, the first Dignities of the Kingdom, then will be time enough for me to be so presumptuous, as to hope that the King will be pleased to gratify me with them, without asking him.

I am mightily pleased with this *Lorrain* Gentleman, for having scorned the baseness of those unworthy and interested *French* men, who extorted the rewards originally designed for the most distinguished merit, because they had assisted an imprudent and revengeful Queen, in throwing into prison the first Prince of the Blood; or because they put her into an apprehension, that if she did not satisfie their boundless ambition, they would go over to the other party, who were enemies to her dear *Mareischal d'Ancre*.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Navarre.

BOOK IX.

The Imprisonment of the first Prince of the Blood, had very like to have raised a Civil War all over France. The Lords of his Party had two plausible pretences for taking up Arms, and making an Insur-

1616.

Reasons why
the Imprison-
ment of the
Prince of
Conde did
not cause
great commo-
tions at Pa-
ris, and in
the Provinces.

1616.

rection both in the Capital and the Provinces, the publick Faith violated by arresting *Condé*, who, as appeared, had not attempted any thing afresh against the King's service, since the Peace concluded on at *Loudun*, and the excessive Power of *Conchini*. A stranger, who had never served in the Armies, and yet was honoured with the Staff of Mareschal of *France*, and made absolute Master of the King's whole Authority, seeing the most important places were all in the hands of his Creatures: All these Practices were unheard of before in *France*, and enough to make strange Impressions on the minds of the people, who bear but very impatiently too absolute a Power, though otherwise born do not seem they in order to be perfectly free. But the Treaties of *Sainte-Menehould* and *Loudun*, enlightened those whose Eyes were but

half open before. The World was convinced that the Prince of *Condé* and the Lords of his Party, had concerned themselves more about their own private Interests, than the good of the Country. God preserve us from such Reformers of the State, said they openly. There never was any Civil War made in *France* under the specious pretence of publick Good, but the true motive thereof was the private concerns of those who first promoted it. How can we know whether the Government of the Kingdom would be better in the hands of the Prince, than in those of the Queen

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*Discourse of
the Duke of
Rohan, upon
the governing
of the Queen
Mother.*

1616.

Mother? A Civil War may cause more mischief in a week, than the present Government may do in twenty years. Shall we expose our selves to an evident and an unavoidable danger, having nothing else to rely upon but a doubtful and an uncertain hope. The Mareschal d' Ancre is a stranger, who has rais'd his Fortune: but at the bottom what signifies it? Is he not of as good a Family as some French-men, that have been made Mareschals of France, and Dukes and Peers of the Kingdom? If he has too much Authority now, we may perhaps obtain from the Government that he may have less, without putting the whole Kingdom into a flame. The Lords themselves, who now cry out so much against the Mareschal d' Ancre, kept secret correspondence with him at that very time, when they took up Arms under the pretence of his having too great Authority, if we may believe what they themselves confess. The Prince is a Prisoner; 'tis a misfortune; but he has brought it upon him by his own imprudence. Why has he so blindly followed the advices of the Mareschal de Bouillon? His Highness ought to have known the Artifices and private views and designs of that Lord. However, put it to the worst, the enlargement of the Prince may be obtained without kindling a Civil War in this Nation.

The wisest sort among the Reformed did not think fit neither, that those of their Religion should rise up in Arms for

1616.

for the sake of his Highness, who had forsaken them at the Treaty of Loudun. Shall we take up Arms again, said they, for a Prince who has just now signed a Peace, without tarrying for the consent of our Assembly at Rochel, though both Parties were under a Reciprocal Obligation to do nothing, but by common accord? Some Catholick Lords have likewise condemned his Highness's too great precipitation in concluding the Peace, notwithstanding the protestation he had made them, of taking greater care about their Concerns: What has the Prince answered them? The fear left the Huguenots should become too powerful, oblige me to alter my mind. The Duke de Nevers has excused himself from declaring for his Highness in the late Troubles, because the Reformed were joyned with him. In fine, the Duke de Mayenrie refused openly to set his hand to the Treaty of our joyning to the Prince, and protested that he would never help the Huguenots to any thing that might be advantageous to them. And these Gentlemen pretend now again to make us fair promises; They sollicit to embarrass us with them? If they ever thought that they should want us a second time, why did they not dissemble better before their real sentiments? They are much to be blamed for having laid open themselves to all the World, that if they do but very little mind the common Interests of their Country, they yet take less care of ours.

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Book IX. LEWIS XIII. 211

This was the general disposition of men's minds, both in the Capital City and in the Provinces, when *Conde* was arrested at the *Louvre*: And *Mary de Medicis* knew it well enough. The Duke *de Rohan*, who was sincerely reconciled to her Majesty, took care faithfully to represent to her every thing; and the Councils of so penetrating a Lord as he was, inspired the Queen Mother with Courage. She was absolutely taken up with these two things, since the detention of the Prince, *viz.* Councils of War, and her Intreagues about detaching the Duke *de Guise* from a Party which he had blindly run himself into, without foreseeing the consequences of it. They courted the Dutchess his Wife, and the Princess of *Conti* his Sister, they made fair promises of doing any thing for them, and engaged them to write to the Duke. The Pope's Nuncio was also employed about it, and he proceeded therein as vigorously as possibly he could. On the other hand, the Queen Mother caused to be summoned the Mareschals of *France*, and the principal of the Subaltern Officers. She held with them a Council of War, wherein it was resolved to have a good Army on Foot, and to raise six thousand *Swissers*. At first the Mareschal of *Brissac* presided in the Council of War, but the Duke *d'Angouleme* having been recalled from *Picardy*, he came thither, and the Mareschal

1616.

The Queen Mother takes measures for dispersing the Party of the disaffected Lords.
Journal of Bassompierre

1616.

reschal de Brissac resigned up the first place without any dispute. *Crequi, Bassempierre, S. Geran, Praeflain*, and some others, thought it very strange, that *Angouleme*, who had been condemned to death for Rebellion, and but lately got out of the *Bastille*, and that too, without being cleared by the Law should presume to come, not only to the Council of War, but also there to take the first place at the board, above all the ancient Mareschals of *France*.

These Gentlemen discoursed the matter with *Brissac*. He was ashamed at his imprudence, but told the Officers, that if he offered to preside there again, he would run *Angouleme* through the Lungs for his pains, provided they would stand by him in so brutish an Action. This was stretching a Point too fiercely; but did the Mareschal intend what he laid? He talks of murthering in the *Louvre*, in the middle of a Council of War, and if I may so speak, in the very Arms of their Majesties, a Lord who had the rank of a Prince (who indeed by a very ill established Custom.) But such is the Genius of the *French* Nobility, that they carry on their haughtiness to the utmost insolence, whenever they find the Government to be weak. But so soon as the King's Authority is well settled, they do not only obey with a profound and awful Respect, but creep like the meanest of Slaves and Villains. After *Brissac* and

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1616.

the rest had reflected in cold Blood on the resolution they had inconsiderately taken, they contented themselves with making their complaints to the Queen-Mother, for the rashness of the Duke of *Angouleme*, and gave her civilly to understand, that they were so far from offering him, to preside in that Council, that they would not so much as allow him to sit in it, unless his Reputation was first re-established. *Mary de Medicis* approved of the Reasons of her Officers, and for fear of exasperating some of them, she forbore to assemble the Council of War.

The discontented Lords on their hand, were taking measures for raising a powerful Army, and making themselves formidable. *Guise* and *Chevreuse* were both arrived first at *Soissons*. The Bishop of *Rheims* their Brother, advanced to the Cardinalship about a year before, came there to joyn them. He had retired himself from the Court before these disturbances, upon an I know not what discontent. The Cardinal *de Guise* was not unlike the other Cardinal Princes. Their Dignity is enough to qualify them for the enjoyment of Bishopricks, without being ever ordained, and these Gentlemen fancy that an Ecclesiastical Life is unbecoming their Rank. The Cardinal *de Guise* married privately an old Mistress of the late King *Henry IV.* and had some Children by her, who in our days laid claim to

*Letters from
the Duke of
Guise and
Nevers, con-
cerning the
Imprisonment
of the Prince
of Conde.*

1616.
*Memoirs of
 the Regency of
 Mary de Me-
 dicis.*
*Mercure
 Francois.*
 1616.

to the Succession of the House of *Guise*. When the Duke *de Mayenne*, and the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, had joyned the three *Guises* at *Soissons*, they dispatched Letters to the Dukes *de Vendome* and *Longueville*, to desire them to come and meet them at *Conci*. The Lords did pitch upon this place as the most convenient for holding a conference about their common Affairs. Before this Assembly met, the Duke *de Guise* answered the Letter that *d'Aumont* had brought him from the King. The Letter was very kind and obliging: His Majesty exprefsed in it, that he relied much upon the Fidelity of *Guise*, and desired him to return forthwith to the Court. The Duke's Answer was humble and respectful. He only entreated the King to let him know what the Prince of *Conde* had done against the service of his Majesty, *to the end*, said he, *that I may inform your Servants of it, and take off the bad Impressions that the imprisonment of the first Prince of the Blood, has perhaps wrought upon them*.

Gonzague, Duke *de Nevers*, was not yet come into the laſt Broils. He had then ſome other Affairs in his head. This restleſs and ambitious Lord was often fancying to himſelf ſome chimerical projects. A while after the death of the late King, he had been wholly buſie about a deſcent into the *Morea*. And now he was contriving how he could make himſelf Great Master of the ancient Order

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Order of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, which he designed to dismember from that of S. John of Jerusalem, or *Malta*, tho these two Orders were united together an 100 years ago and upwards. Pope *Innocent VIII.* had, as 'tis said, given the Bulls of Union by the consent of all the Christian Princes. The Great Master of *Malta* had sent to the King of *France*, to make him some Remonstrances about the Injustice of *Gonzagues* his pretensions, and his Majesty seemed to be disposed to take them into his consideration. However, the Duke *de Nevers* did not desist from his pursuits. He obtained Letters from the King for the Emperor, and having obtained a Commission of Ambassador Extraordinary dispatched for him, he set out from *Paris* about a fortnight or three weeks before the Prince of *Conde* was arrested.

When he was arrived at *Charleville*, on the Frontiers of *Champagne*, he received a Letter from the King, in which his Majesty informed him, that the Prince of *Conde* had been arrested by his orders; and in the mean while the King commanded him to give such directions as should be necessary in the Towns under his Government of *Champagne*. *Nevers* answered the King's Letter, but so as it was not well liked, because his way of expressing himself seemed too haughty for the Court. His Majesty had acquainted him by his Letter, that being ful-

1616. fully informed of the designs of some persons, that were contriving to make an attempt upon his Royal Person, and that of the Queen his Mother, and endeavouring to engage *Conde* in their Confederation and Plot, he thought himself obliged therefore to secure the Prince his person. *This News*, said *Gonzague* in his answer to the King's Letter, has extremely surprized me. For, in truth, I thought I had left Affairs in so good a posture, at the Negotiation wherein your Majesty did me the Honour to employ me as your Servant, that one might have hoped the Peace would have been secured by it. I do think it, Sir, requisite for your Majesty's service, and the satisfaction of all honest men, speedily to acquaint the world with these matters, and to lay the truth of it open both at home and abroad. However, I will put off my journey for some time.

The Assembly of the discontented Lords at Couci. The Dukes de *Vendome* and *Longueville*, had no sooner joyned at *Couci* the Dukes de *Guise*, *Chevrense*, and *Mayenne*, the Cardinal de *Guise*, the Marshal de *Bouillon*, and the Marquess de *Coevres*, who had lately been brought over to the Party of the Duke de *Vendome* his near Relation, but notice was presently taken, that the Duke de *Guise* lay under some cloud of trouble and anxiety. He found he was engaged in a nicer and more important Affair, than at first he had foreseen it; and the o-

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ther Lords were afraid, lest he should contrive in good earnest how to extricate himself out of it. Wherefore they laboured all they could to keep him firm to them by all the highest Diferences and Respects they could pay him, and to own him for the head of their Party. The Duke de Longueville, whose Family was always jealous of the advancement of the House de Guise, was the only person who made a difficulty to comply with it. Bousillon made use of his utmost terins of Eloquence, and all the Skill and Address imaginable, to fix the irresolution of this Duke. *The Reasons we have for our taking up Arms*, said the ingenious and artful Mareschal, *are the most plausible as well as just in the World*. 'Tis to set at liberty the first Prince of the Blood, who is unjustly detained a Prisoner, and to take the King out of the hands of a stranger, whom all France, and especially the Inhabitants of Paris abhor. His House plundered in the very face of their Majesties, is a plain argument of this. What greater deference can you expect, Sir? Those who dispute the Ranks with you, offer to acknowledge you for their Commander. We will easily bring over the Duke de Longueville to comply with it. Let us speedily get our Friends together; we have already eight or nine thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. Put yourself at the head of us, and let us shew our selves resolutely at the Gates of Paris, and burn only the Mills that are about that City. I do assure

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you, that the Inhabitants thereof will forthwith declare themselves for us.

This was a very wise advice in the Duke de Rohan's opinion. Whenever Affairs are reduced to extremities, said he, things ought not to be done by halfs: Diligence and boldness meets with success, but too great nicely and circumspection make us to lose the best opportunities. The Mareschal de Bouillon's Advice having been rejected, the Lords agreed upon making new Levies, the General Rendezvous was appointed at *Noion in Picardy*. Their design was to march from thence to *Paris*, and try what commotions their presence would raise in the Town. After these resolutions were taken, they presently separated. The Duke de Guise went to his Duke-dom, with a design to make some Levies there, and dispatched one Gentleman to the Duke de Lorrain, another to the Duke d' Epernon, and a third to the Duke de Bellegarde, to ingage them to joyn with his Party. *Mayenne* took the Road to *Soiffons*, *Bouillon* that to *Sedan*, *Longueville* returned to *Peronne*, and *Vendome* to *la Fere*, and lastly, *Coevres* retired to his Government of *Laon*.

The King went to the Parliament to have his Declaration registered for his keeping the Prince of Conde in Prison.

The King's Council did not think it fit for the Majesty of a Sovereign to answer any otherwile, than by a publick and solemn Declaration, thole who should ask him, why he had caused the first Prince of the Blood to be arrested. It was then also resolved by the same Council

Council to have three Armies. The Duke d' *Angouleme* was named to Command the first against the Lords who were quartered in *Picardy*; the new Mareschal of *Montigni* was appointed to be at the head of the second, in order to reduce the Province of *Berri*, which had declared itself for the Prince of *Conde*, who was the Governour thereof: And the Mareschal de *Souvre* was appointed to Cominand the third Army in the Province of *Touraine*. *Rochefort*, the Prince's Favourite, had retired himself into *Chinon*, which the King had given to his Highness for a place of security after the Treaty of *Londres*. Under the Reign of *Henry the Great*, the people complained of a too covetous Government. *The King*, said they aloud, *doth think of nothing else but heaping up Money, he is sparing to the last degree, but all the while he is hoarding Treasures in the Bastille*. Such is the inconstancy of the people, that they condemn the present time, wish for a better, and regret what's past. When men took notice of the extravagance of *Mary de Medicis*, how did they sigh after a Reign like the former: *The indiscreet Liberalities of the Queen Mother*, said they, *the Pensions wherewith she gratifies the great Lords, instead of keeping them to their Duty, give them rather Encouragement to enter into new Cabals against her every day*. The poor Princes was then in a lamentable

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1616. condition, not knowing what course to steer. The Treasure left by the late King was quite and clean squandered away. The Money that remained in the *Bastille* had been spent in defraying the charges of the Court's progress to *Bourdeaux*. The Expences for the King's Marriage, and for maintaining of the Forces which the Court kept up to oppose the attempts of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Lords of his Party, who endeavoured to prevent that match, amounted to vast summs. These Gentlemen assumed to themselves the King's Revenues in some Provinces, besides the Money that had been of necessity paid to them, for the charges of the War. The King's Coffers were exhausted, and yet the Queen Mother was for raising again a Civil War, by arresting the first Prince of the Blood. She was at last forced to have recourse to extraordinary Methods for raising Money; and in such cases they never fail to make the King say to his people, that he will proceed in such ways as shall be least burthensome to them. Yet notwithstanding things are so well managed, that the Subjects do most commonly bear the whole weight of Taxes.

King *Lewis* went to the Parliament the 6th of *September*, in order to have there confirmed a Declaration concerning the detension of the Prince of *Conde*, and also a Pecuniary Edict: The Queen-Mother, young *Gaston*, the Kings Brother, the

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the two Daughters of *France*, some Princesses, three Ecclesiastical Peers, the Dukes de *Montmorency*, d' *Usez*, *Retz*, *Roban*, *Sulli*, three Marshals of *France*, viz. *de Brissac*, *de Souvre*, and *Themines*, the Count *de Candale* performing the office of Chamberlain, with some other Lords, the Bishop of *Paris*, and four or five Prelates, attended the King in the most pompous and stately manner that possibly could be. The King's Declaration seemed drawn up with great skill and cunning. But men of sense could not hear without grief and indignation, the wicked and hainous Crimes that were laid to the Prince of *Conde*'s Charge, without bringing any reasonable proof for making good the Allegations against him. The King's Declaration began with this flourish, *That it was with an incredible grief that he saw himself under the necessity of so often making use of his Authority, for repressing the criminal attempts of those who sought to advance their own Fortunes, by the ruin of the Kingdom, and for securing his own Person by a Declaration, which at the same time reflected on those who were of his own Blood, by charging them with trampling under their feet the Laws both of Nature and Civil Society.* This Preface awakene^d the attention of all people, and they expected no less than to see the Prince of *Conde* convicted of aspiring at the Crown, and perhaps of having made some attempts upon the

1616. King's person. They were herein not altogether mistaken, for the Queen Mother, and the Marechal *d' Ancre*'s Creatures, who had drawn up this Declaration, pretended to have given an intimation of it.

Indeed, the horrid reproaches laid to the Prince's charge, for his unquietness and turbulency of Spirit, since the Treaties of *Sainte-Menehould* and *Londun*, were attended with many new accusations, of having attempted to put in execution the decree of the 18th of *March*, in the forgoing year, for the calling of the Princes, the Peers of *France* and the Officers of the Crown, to whom a Proposal was to be made for them, to provide for the Government of the Kingdom; and, in short, to take off the Crown from the King's Head. This was plainly intimated, by saying that the Followers of the Prince's Party in their frequent Feastings, did commonly exclaim in the transport of their Joys, *Barre abas*, an invented word, to signify as if they had a design to make *Condé* to bear the Arms of *France* without a *Bar*, that is to say, to put the Crown upon his Head. His Highness was also charged with having raised Forces, made Provisions of Arms at *Paris*, held private Assemblies in the night at *S. Martin in the Fields*, and in the Suburbs called *Fauxbourg S. Germain*, with some great Lords and Officers of the Crown;

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in fine, of having attempted to gain over to his Party the Nobility of the Court, the Captains of the Town, the Curates, and the Preachers. There are indeed great Accusations laid to the Prince's charge, said they one to another, but what is the ground of them, only some private advices which they pretend they have received. They ought to have named the Informers in an Affair of this moment. They tell us in general of a Lord, a Princess, a Prelate, an Ambassador; but that is only a Decoy, to deceive the simple and ignorant people. Who can be secure henceforward at this rate, from being thrown into Prison? Informers never fail telling Stories to the Court, that their Enemies, or those whom others labour underhand to ruin, have some evil designs, and are perpetually caballing against them. But they do not make appear that either the Domestick Servants, or those that follow the Prince's Party, have ever said in their merry-makings, what the Declaration lays to their charge. And tho it should be true, that a block-head or a mad man had in the heat of his Wine uttered some seditious words, is this a sufficient reason to imprison the first Prince of the Blood, and disgrace him, as if he were a Rebel, that had a mind to usurp the Crown? What will become of us, Good God! If it be allowed to calumniate, and to put into prison upon any frivolous accusations the Princes and the great Lords of the Kingdom.

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Many other Reflections were also made upon the latter end of this Declaration. His Majesty promised therein his Pardon to all those of the Prince's Party, in case they would repair to the Court within fifteen days, or to the respective places of their abodes. *What is meant by all this?* The Prince is charged with a Crime for which he deserves death, added some others, and the King pardons, without any distinction, all those who are engaged with his Highness in the blackest Conspiracy, that can be carried on against the Kingdom, and even his Majesty's person. The Crime the Prince is charged with may easily be discovered. He has promised in some Assemblies to take away the administration of Affairs from the Queen Mother, who doth not care if she throws the whole Kingdom into a hurly-burly and confusion, provided she can but keep her Mareschal d' Ancre. Must the first Prince of the Blood, and the greatest Lords of the Kingdom be guilty of High Treason, because they assemble and confer together about the Grievances of the State, and the means how to have them redressed? Some men called to mind how *Du Vair*, Keeper of the Great Seal, had expressed himself before the issuing forth of this Declaration. That Magistrate, whose strict Virtue did not allow him to betray his Conscience and the Truth, affected to say frequently in his discourse, *I have orders to speak thus.* The King spoke it self to all those that heard it.

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it. *Would the Keeper of the Great Seal, said they, have delivered himself in this manner, if he was convinced of the truth of the Facts alledged against the Prince?* Mary de Medicis took notice of it as well as the others. And her Majesty went out of the Parliament-House more fully resolved to execute her design of getting rid of a Magistrate, whose singular Integrity and Uprightness was never relished by her, tho she would fain be still accounted a devout woman.

Some days after the Parliament had given their consent to the ratifying of the Declaration, the King received a second Letter from *Gonzague Duke of Nevers*; wherein he most bitterly and haughtily complained, because the Gates of the Town of *Chalons*, upon the River *Marne*, were shut up against him. The Duke was gone to *Rheims*, pursuant to an order his Majesty had sent him, to watch over all the Towns belonging to his Government of *Champagne*. There he received an express from the King, who offered him the chief command of his Army. 'Tis uncertain whether the Court by this designed only to amuse him, or else was working in good earnest to gain him over to her interest. However it was, the Court grew jealous of him, so soon as they had seen the first Letter he had written to the King, in which he bluntly desired to be further informed of the Reasons why his Majesty had caused the Prince of *Conde* to be

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Nevers joins
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be arrested. The News, which came a while after to the Court, increased more and more the mistrust the Queen Mother had of the sincerity of *Gonzague* his intentions. Her Majesty was informed that he kept a private Correspondence with the disaffected Lords, and that he had proposed to the Inhabitants of the City of *Rheims* to supply him with part of the Summ necessary for the maintaining of six hundred Horse and four thousand Foot, which he had resolved to raise. The Inhabitants of *Rheims* answered, that they could not come to any resolution about it without the Kings consent; wherefore the matter was referred to the Office of the Treasurers of *France* at *Chalons* upon *Marne*; whereupon *Never*s declared, that he would go himself to manage the business with the Treasurers at *Chalons*.

Wherefore he dispatched some of his Men to *Chalons*, with orders to mark out Lodgings for himself, and some Persons of Quality, and for four hundred Horse that were appointed for his Guard. The Court being fully informed of all these Transactions, sent forthwith express orders and in the usual form to the Count of *Tresmes*, Governour of *Chalons*, to deny the Duke entrance into the Town. *Tresmes* did punctually obey the Kings Commands. The Gates of the City were shut up against *Gonzague*. The Duke, provok'd at this affront done him in a Province

vince under his Government, highly complained of it to the King. And after along *Detail* of his unblameable conduct during the late Broils, and some reproaches upon the account of his services that he had done, *Nevers* spoke boldly in his Letter against those whose violent advices, he supposed his Majesty had hearkened to, and whom he look'd upon as his declar'd Enemies. By his way of expressing himself in his Letter, one would think that he was almost resolved to join himself to the disaffected Party. And indeed some time afterwards he openly treated with them, pretending that he could no longer bear such an affront as he had received by the contrivance of the Creatures of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*. *Gonzague*, to say the truth, seem'd only to have concluded the private Negotiation that had been carried on by him before. He openly took off the Mask after a like Adventure that happened to the Dutchess his Wife, or rather to himself. *La Vieuville* Deputy Governor of *Champagne*, with whom he had been a long time at variance, caused the Gates of the City of *Rheims* to be shut up against the Dutchess. It was fancied they had good reasons to believe, that she only demanded to be admitted into the Town, the better to carry on the design the Duke had taken of making himself master of it. Thus the Duke *de Nevers* endeavour'd to perswade the world that chance, or rather

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ther the wrong he had received from his Enemies had engaged him to a Party, to which at first he seem'd very averse. Notwithstanding he ingaged himself further in it than any body else, and even at that time that the Duke *de Guise*, who had embraced the Party with great warmth and passion, was about to leave it, in such a manner which was not at all to his Honour and Credit in the world.

The Dukes de Guise and Longueville make both their own private Treaties with the Queen Mother.

The Duke *d' Epernon* did guesl right enough, when he told the Gentleman whom the Duke *de Guise* had sent, to propose to him as from himself, to enter into the new Contederacy, *The Duke de Guise will return more bluntly back to Court, than ever he departed from it.* And indeed the Dutches *de Guise* having informed him by a person named *Lafond*, made since Abbot of *Poix*, that it had been proposed in the King's Council, to send Commissioners to *Sotissons*, in order to treat with the disaffected Lords, or rather to endeavour to divide them; and that she was not without hopes of making a private Treaty, in which he wou'd find his own security, and some considerable advantages for his Family; wherefore from that time he never troubled himself further with making new levies.

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After he had had an Interview with the Count *de Boule*, since Prince *de Phaltzbourg*, whom the Duke *de Lorrain* had sent as far as a place called *Notre-Dame de Liesse*, he took the Road to *Sotissons*.

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Sons. *I must*, said he, *impart to the Duke de Mayenne the News I have received both from the Court of France and that of Lorrain.* *Mayenne* was in an extreme passion when he perceived that *Guise* was going to leave the Party. They desired the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, and the Dukes *de Vendome* and *Longueville* to repair to *Soissons*, that they might consult together about what they should demand of the Commissioners, who were come thither by the King.

Longueville excused himself from coming to *Soissons*; and would not so much as be present at the Conferences that were held afterwards. The Dutchess his Mother had acquainted him, that she was about to enter into a private Negotiation for him, and flattered herself with the hopes of obtaining some advantageous terms by the means of Secretary *Mangot*. He had been a domestick Servant in the *Longueville*'s Family, before he had advanced himself to his great, but very short fortune. *Mangot* procured the Dukes consent, to be satisfied with the Government of *Ham* a fortify'd Place in *Picardy*, and to resign the Government of *Peronne* into the Kings hands, upon condition that his Majesty would take it from the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, and bestow it upon *Blerencourt*. The People were amaz'd to see that this same Lord, who had raised the first Commotions in *Picardy*, and had declared himself a most capital Enemy to

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the Mareschal *d' Acre*, should be the first that forsook those of his Party who had so constantly supported him. A great Example to prove what little stability there is to be found in those Cabals and Confederacies, which have no other ground but Ambition, Covetousness, or some private Interest, says the Marquis de Coevres who was himself engaged in it. The Lords who depart from their duty, adds he, are presently made sensible that they can't expect any true satisfaction but in the service and good graces of the King. The maxim is good, and true in one sense. Nothing can be more honest and commendable, than to serve the Prince when he labours to make his Subjects happy, and when he does not encroach either upon their Estates or their Legal Liberties. But to be ambitious to get into the Princes favour and bounties, by serving him in his Violence and Injustice, that is no better than to betray ones Country, and to wrong both our selves and our Families. And whence is it now, that the Princes and Lords of France are such Slaves? But because Ambition and Covetousness have spurr'd on both Parents and Children to serve those Kings, who have labour'd all they can to oppress their Subjects.

The Mareschal *de Bonillon* came again to Soissons in very great disquiet and perplexity. However, if the discontent of the Duke *de Nevers* gave some hopes, that the Party would grow stronger by the

the joining of a Lord, that was considerable by his Employments, his Relations, and his extraordinary Wit, yet the uncertainty which the Dukes *de Guise* and *Longueville* shewed, gave them great apprehensions, that the Queen Mother would easily gain over others to her interest, when once she had brought off those Lords from the Party, each of them being no less powerful than *Nevers*, who was so well disposed to embrace it. *Bouillon* loudly complained, that the Duke *de Guise* had not performed on his part the Resolution that had been taken at *Conci*. *Though the Duke de Guise, said he, should have a mind to hearken to the Proposals that come from Court, yet he should not have desisted from making of the Levies.* The King is bringing his Troops together from all parts. We are in danger of being shortly invested, or at least 'tis to be feared, that the weakness we shall be in through our negligence in raising Forces, will reduce us to the necessity of accepting the hardest terms that shall be offered us. The Duke *de Guise* heard these complaints, and dissembled the true sentiments of his heart in the best manner he could. Whether *Guise* had not yet made sure the terms of his accommodation, or whether he was not willing as yet to discover his design, he made several Proposals to the other Lords. Sometimes he spoke of going to *Thionville*. Great Levies might be raised there, because that place stands in the neighbourhood of

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of Lorrain, said he, *I will engage my Wife to bring me thither herself her Jewels and some Money.* Another time he offered himself to go into his own Government of Provence, and to make a powerful diversion on that side.

All these various proposals did so much increase the suspicions of the Duke de Bouillon, that he without more ado moved the rest of the Lords to arrest the Duke de Guise. *The Court has got him over to their side, said Bouillon, and offers him the command of the Army which is to be sent against us.* Why then should we not take our precautions against a man, who will not only abandon us in the time of our need, after having so strongly engaged himself with us, but will also serve the Interest of the Court, to the end he might be the instrument of our

Memoirs of ruin ? However, though indeed this advice did not seem much amiss in the main, yet the Duke de Mayenne prevailed so far as to have it laid aside. He would not violate the Laws of Hospitality in the person of a near Relation, who trusting to his honesty came to his House. When I reflect upon the odd proceedings of Princes and great Lords, I am almost perswaded they fancy, that other men do not know how to make use of their reason. 'Tis said that Glory is the Idol of these Gentlemen ; but what is that Glory which they run after with so much heat and eagerness ; but only the good opinion that men have of the Virtue and great

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great Actions of some Persons. You love Glory very well. Strive then to deserve the publick esteem ; for, in short, 'tis not in your power to make the World believe just as you would have them : But a few days ago the Duke *de Guise* was seeking the applauses of the whole Kingdom of *France*, by raising himself against a stranger that was universally hated, and one that had also a design to ruin the Dukes of *Epernon* and *Belle-garde*, both related and intimate Friends to the House of *Guise*. And for the consideration of a trifling Interest, this same Duke is now well pleased to take upon him the Command of that Army, which is designed for the establishment of the Marechal *d' Ancre*'s Authority, and the ruin of those who press for the removal of *Conchini*, and his Creatures. And yet, if we will believe the Duke *de Guise* himself, he was wholly moved by those noble Sentiments, with which Nature inspires persons of his Distinction and Quality, and he had no other aim, but only to make his Name glorious to Posterity.

However, his Inconstancy had put the other Lords into such disorder and per-
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Mary de Medici.
p'exit, that they had no other way left but that of hearkening to *Chavallon* and *Baissie*, who had the King's Commission for treating with the disaffected Lords. They were in some hopes that they should be able to spin out the time in this Negotiation

gotation till the latter end of Winter, which was then coming on, in pretending they would accept of the Conditions that should be offered them. *We will in the mean while take our measures, said Bouillon, and carry on our preparations under-hand, that so we may be in a readiness to make some progress in the Spring.* The Cardinal de Guise spoke openly against his Brother's Conduct, and promised the Duke de Mayenne and the other Lords, that he would not forsake the Party. The Lords, the further to engage the Cardinal to them, offered to own him for their chief Commander. *Your title of Cardinal, said they, gives no ground for jealousy. It takes away the inconveniencies of disputes, that might arise among us for the Rank.* Bouillon was a Protestant. Did he believe then that the Red Cap of a Cardinal should carry it in the Army over the Batoon of a Mareschal of France? But it was at that time reported, that the King's Commissioners were arrived at Villiers-Coterets. They sent therefore to the Lords, to desire them to agree with them about a Neuter place in the Country, whereat to hold their Conference, because his Majesty's Orders did not allow them to go so far as Soissons. This Proposal gave some umbrage to the disaffected Party. They were affraid lest they should have a design to surprize them under the pretence of entering into Conference with them. However, it

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was agreed on both sides, that for the first time they should have an interview at *Cravancou*, a place but three Miles distant from the Town of *Soissons*.

The Secretary of the Duke *de Monte-
leon*, Ambassador from *Spain* to the Court
of *France*, was come with *Chanvalon*,
one of the King's Commissioners. He
had Orders to acquaint the Duke *de Guise*
that the Ambassador would be the
Queen-Mother's security for what she
should promise to the House of *Guise*.
They had found out this Expedient to
remove all jealousies from the Duke.
He could no longer trust the Mareschal
d' Ancre. *Conchini* was too well in-
formed of the pernicious designs they
had taken against him, and that the
Duke *de Guise* had been as great a pro-
moter of them, as any other of the Lords,
wherefore there was no reason to doubt,
but the revengeful *Italian* would contin-
ually exasperate the Queen Mother
against the *Guises*, and divert her from
keeping her word with the greatest En-
emies her Favourite had; but lest this
fear that *Guise* was in, should keep him
still in the disaffected Party, *Mary de
Medicis* thought it very convenient,
that the *Spanish* Ambassador should be
the Guarantee of a private Treaty be-
tween the Duke of *Guise* and her Majesty.
After these fair securities, he soon for-
got all the Proposals he had made to the
other

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ry de Medicis.*

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other Lords, or rather he discovered to them, that they were never sincere. *Guise* publickly declared his readiness for a speedy agreement. *Chanvalon* and *Bois-size* stirred him up all they could, to perswade the other Lords to follow his Example. They did shew themselves as if they had no great unwillingness to it. The Duke d' *Angouleme* having advanced the King's Army as far as *Villiers-Cotterets*, this march did extreamly alarm the disaffected Party. They were then sensible that their Forces were not able to oppose the King's Army, and that therefore they should not contest any longer the Conditions proposed by the Court, nor demand any better terms than those that were offered to them; they did content themselves with managing the matter so dexterously, that they should not be obliged to come to Court, during the whole following Winter, and that the Garrisons of the places under their Government, should be well maintained. The Lords presented indeed thirteen Articles of their demands, but that was only to make a shew. They knew very well that their Affairs were not in so good a posture, as to permit them to hope, that the Court would take them into their consideration.

A feigned agreement of disaffected Lords with the King.

After this first Conference, the Duke de *Guise* represented to the Lords of the Party, that if he should take a turn to the Court, his presence and sollicitati-

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ons might perhaps render the Queen Mother somewhat more tractable. However, tho the Disaffected Party was sensible that *Guise* concerned himself more for his own private Interest, than for that of the other Lords, yet they outwardly seemed to approve of his Proposal. The Duke arrived then at *Paris* the 25th of *September*, accompanied by his two Brothers, the Cardinal and the Duke *de Chevreuse*. They were very kindly received by their Majesties. But to shew them and all the disaffected Party, that they should not obtain any thing in the behalf of the Prince of *Conde*, the Queen Mother ordered that he

*Journal of
Bassompierre.
Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Medici.*

should be removed to the *Bastille* the night following; and in pursuance thereof *Bassompierre* had her Commission for it. *Mary de Medicis* was so much set upon having the Prince secured in a place, from whence his Friends could not easily take him away, that she promised to *Bassompierre*, that he should not be wanting of any Riches, Titles of Honours or Employments she could bestow upon him, provided he would faithfully serve her in this matter. She did not foresee, poor Princess, that within six months no means for rewarding her good Servants would be left her. The Guards, both *French* and *Switzers*, who attended *Conde* to the *Bastille*, were of necessity obliged to pass by the House of *Guise*. The Duke lately arrived at *Paris*,

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was frightned when he was told that there were some Souldiers drawing near to his House. He immediately dress'd himself, and was ready to take Horse, when he received Advice from *Bassompierre*, that they designed no harm to his person, and that the Queen Mother was only removing the Prince to the *Bastille*.

This News fully confirmed *Guise* in the belief that there was no hopes left for the unfortunate *Conde*. But before the Duke had quite forsaken the Party, he laboured hard to come off handsomely, and to secure his Honour, by obtaining some reasonable terms for the other Lords, and he did earnestly press the Court to that effect; for during the three or four days he stayed at Court, at least he seemed to make use of his utmost efforts in their behalf: He came back to *Soissons*. The King's Commissioners held a second Conference with the disaffected Party. They agreed in appearance upon some matters; but all things were transacted with very great precipitation and disorder. The Duke *de Guise* took his leave of all the Lords, and returned to the Court with *Boissise*, with a design, as he said, to get the Treaty agreed upon with the King's Commissioners, signed by his Majesty. *Guise* being throughly perswaded that he was free from his Engagement with the Lords, continued at Court with his two Brothers. They were

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were all three labouring how to prevent the ill designs of the Mareschal d' *Ancre* against their Family, and to ruin him if possibly they could. *Boissise* came again to *Soissons*, to acquaint the Lords with the King's pleasure, and the resolutions he had taken with his Council upon their thirteen Articles. But the Lords being dissatisfied with the answers made to their demands, they did only set down at the bottom of the Paper, *Tis by the express Command of the King, and to obey his Orders, that we have received the Articles and the Answers brought unto us by M. Boissise. Done at Soissons the 6th of October, 1616.* Wherefore the Lords concertenct again together, how the Mareschal de *Bouillon*, who was ready to retire himself to the Principality of *Sedan*, should in his way visit the Duke de *Nevers*, and engage him into their design of taking up Arms the next Spring.

The Court seemed as if they were extremely pleased with the Lords, wherefore a Declaration of the King, which was already drawn in their favour, was at the desire of the Court approved of by the Parliament. Besides that, another Declaration was also published, to pardon the Duke de *Longueville* all that passed touching the Affair of *Peronne*. At the time of the Conference, the Mareschal de *Montigny*, made Gouvernour of *Berri* during the absence of the Prince, was besieging the Tower of *Bourges*, which a few

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few of his Men, who were retired thither, kept for his Highness. And Mareschal *de Souvre* on his side, had sat down before *Chinon*, a Town in *Touraine*. *Rochefort*, *Conde's* Favourite, had retired into that Castle, with a design to defend it. The Lords demanded by the first of their Articles, that the King would be pleased to Command that the Sieges of these two places might be raised ; but the Court would by no means hearken to it. *Mary de Medicis* having resolved not to grant any thing that might concern the Liberty and Interests of *Conde*, answered, that as to that business, and all other matters concerning the Prince, the King would order 'em as he should think most convenient for his service. *Montigny* and *Souvre* having carried on the Siege of these two places, that were neither strong nor well provided for a long resistance, they were both in few days reduced to Capitulate. *Rochefort* acquitted himself with Honour as to that Affair. He delivered up the Castle of *Chinon*, after he had received some Letters from the Prince *de Conde* his Master. And he was either too high spirited or too generous, to demand of the King any advantageous terms for his private Interest ; wherefore he retired home, waiting for some fairer opportunity of shewing his acknowledgments for the Favours he had received from his Highness.

All

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All things seemed very calm without doors, when the Duke *d' Epernon*, weary with keeping himself too long confined upon his Estate and Governiments, ^{The designs and intreagues of the Duke d' Epernon.} appeared abroad with a small Army. He had been acquainted with the Proposals that the Mareschal *d' Ancre* had made to the Duke *de Mayenne*, and the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, for joyning themselves to him, in order to ruin their common Enemies. Wherefore *Epernon*, ^{The life of the Duke of Epernon, l. 8.} whom *Conchini* had mentioned to be the first, resolved to fortify himself in such a manner, that he should not be easily oppressed. But the first thing he had to do, was to joyn himself in Interest with some powerful Friends, which was not an easie matter for the Duke to bring about. All those that were Enemies to the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, (excepting 'the Guises) were also his own. *Conde, Mayenne, Bouillon*, and many others wished him perhaps no less mischief than they did *Conchini*. There was a coldness also between *Guise* and *Epernon*. Their different Interests had not allow'd them to keep a good correspondence during the progrès of the Court to *Bourdeaux*. Wherefore *Epernon* was oblig'd to contrive how to form (if possibly he could) a third Party in France, and to seek for Friends who were neither joyned with the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, nor with the Prince *de Conde*, and the rest of the disaffected Lords. But where could he find

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men ready to engage themselves with him? His proud carriage and his haughty spirit, made him insupportable to every body, and his great Ambition was known to all the World.

*Discourse of
the Duke of
Rohan upon
the present
Government,
in the year
1617.*

The Duke de Rohan has given us a true description of him. *Epernon*, said he, *cannot bear with the Government, because he does not govern himself. He affects a great zeal for his Majesty's Service, and for the keeping up of the Royal Authority; but 'tis only that he might be entrusted with it. His proceedings are bent to advance himself to the Government of Guienne, and to become High Constable of France. And seeing that he is not able to obtain by favour the first Dignity of the Sword, and the Government of a Province that stands most convenient for him, he fancies that he may be able to carry it by force. He appears zealous for the Catholic Religion, and yet he finds fault with all the attempts that those of the same Religion set their hands to. His hatred to the Reformed breaks out upon all occasions, and yet he talks as a man who designs to keep correspondence with them. He is a declared Enemy to the Prince of Conde, the Duke de Mayenne, and the Marechal de Bouillon, and yet he seems to have a design to set the Prince at liberty, and to be serviceable to the others. At the same that he makes a thousand protestations of Allegiance to the King, he offers his services underhand to the Princes, and he keeps*

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BOOK IX. LEWIS XIII.

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private correspondence with the Lords who are up in Arms. How can the Court gain over to her Interest a man of such a Character? Deference raises his Pride, Mildness provokes him, and Patience blows up his Courage. If you give him the Government of Guienne, this is the last step for his ascending to the Dignity of High Constable of France. And whenever he shall see himself at the height of his wishes, he will be a Tyrant to the King, and to the whole Kingdom of France, as he is already in his Governments.

One would think that a Lord, whose temper and designs were so well known, should not have found many Friends, either amongst his Equals or his Superiors. And yet notwithstanding Epernon's contrivance was such, that he joined himself with the Duke de Montmorency and the Marshal *Lesdiguières*, for their common defence. These Lords, tho they were not openly embrac'd with the Court, yet they were mightily dissatisfied with the Government as well as the others. *Lesdiguières* had the whole power in Dauphiny; the Duke de *Belle-garde*, Epernon's Relation, was Governor of Burgundy, and the Duke de *Montmorency* Governor of Languedoc. These three Lords possessed a vast extent of Territories, all joyning to one another. Epernon lay most remote in his Governments of *Angoumois* and *Saintonge*; the Province of *Guienne* was between him

*The Life of
the Duke of
Epernon, l.7.*

The History of Book IX.

him and the other Lords; but they had such considerable Estates, and such a world of Friends in that Province, that the new Confederates could easily join themselves. Here is then a third Party in the Kingdom. Those that were engaged in it, were neither Friends to the Prince of *Conde*, nor to those that were united to him. And if they outwardly carried themselves civilly, and with a good deportment towards *Mayenne*, *Nevers*, *Vendome* and *Bouillon*, it was only the better to effect the principal design they drove at, which was to ruin the *Mareschal d'Ancre*. The Duke de *Roban* laboured in vain in giving his Advices, and drawing up Memorials, to point out to *Mary de Medicis* the proper methods for the breaking so many Factions that were then on foot, and at the same time keeping the Reformed Party firm to her, who were able to give the disaffected Lords a mighty additional Strength, if once they should joyn with them. The Queen Mother had neither Wit nor Authority enough for making a right use of the Councils that the Dukes of *Roban* and *Sully* gave her.

Whilst D^s Plessis Mornai was labouring in concert with those two above-mentioned Lord^s, to dissuade the Reformed from enting into any new broils, the restless and ungovernable spirit of the Duke d' Epernon had like to have raised

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*The Life of
the Duke of
Epernon. 1.7.*

raised the whole Reformed Party in favour of the Inhabitants of *Rochell*, whom *Epernon* seemed at least to be resolved to attack in good earnest; for not being contented with having strengthened himself by his Confederacies with *Monmorency* and *Lesdiguières*, he designed also to keep some Troops on foot, that so he might be in a better condition to secure himself against the attempts of the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, who was become more powerful than ever, since the imprisonment of the first Prince of the Blood, and the apparent rupture of the Lords and their Party, who had declared themselves for his Highness. But under what pretence could *Epernon* shelter himself, by making new Levies so immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace? The raising of Forces without a Commission from the King, was to make himself guilty of High Treason. And if he had desired the King's consent for his so doing, that would be to expose himself to a certain denial. But tho' the Ambition of the Duke *d' Epernon* should not have drawn upon himself the suspicion of the Court, yet the Queen Mother, who was displeased at him, and possessed in favour of the *Mareschal d' Ancre*, would never have yielded that he should be allowed to have an Army, how small soever, at his own Devotion, at a time of Cabals and Factions both in Court, and almost throughout the whole Kingdom.

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Mercurie Fran-
cois, 1616.

Whilst *Epernon* was under this perplexity, the Inhabitants of *Rochelle* fearing lest the Imprisonment of the Prince *de Conde* should be followed with a Civil War, resolved to make themselves Masters of the Castle of *Rochefort* upon the River *Charante*, and to clap a Garrison into it. This small hold would have proved very troublesome to them, if any of their Enemies had possessed themselves with it before them. They did not imagin that any bad construction could be put upon such an Enterprize as this, seeing that the Commander in *Bronage*, who was as apprehensive as themselves of the same danger in all outward appearance, had garrisoned *Tonnes-Charante*. So soon as ever *Epernon* had received this News, he fancied that this attempt of the Inhabitants of *Rochelle* gave him a very honest and specious pretence for the raising of some Levies. It was publickly reported, that the Duke had a design to assert his pretensions to the City of *Rochelle* and the County of *Aunis*. King Henry III. who gave me the Government of *Saintonge*, said he, did at the same time add to it that of *Rochelle* and the County of *Aunis*. But this Grant which *Epernon* had obtained thirty years before through a mistake, was unknown to the Inhabitants of *Rochelle*; and he never offered to assert it against a powerful City, which was provided with very good Priviledges, confirmed by Henry III.

III. and both his Successors. The most considerable of these Priviledges was, that *Rochell* and the Country of *Aunis* should have no other Gouvernour but the Mayor of the City, and that they should not be obliged to suffer any other Souldiers but their own Inhabitants. These great priviledges of *Rochell* were grounded upon this, that being formerly under the Dominion of *England*, they had of their own accord deserted the *English*, to give themselves up to *France*, upon such advantageous conditions for the Town, as seem'd rather, that they asserted their own Liberty, than changed their Master.

Epernon well enough understood the Validity of the pretensions of the Inhabitants of *Rochell*; but he wanted pretence for keeping some Troops on foot. Any, how trivial soever, was sufficient to him, and this of opposing the attempts of a Reformed Town, which the Court looked upon to be naturally mutinous and seditious, seem'd to the Duke as fair an opportunity for his purpose as he could ever meet with. Wherefore coming away in all haste from *Gascony*, he seized upon the Kings Revenues, under pretence of marching for his service, raised about four thousand Foot, and five or six hundred Horse, advanced towards *Rochell*, sent some repeated summonses to the Garrison of *Rochefort* forthwith to quit the place, possessed himself of the Castle of *Surges*,

The Duke d'Epernon raises Forces, and marches to Rochell.
The life of the Duke d'Epernon 1.7.
Mercure Francais 1616.

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put a strong Garrison into it, which was very incommodious to the Town of *Ro-chell*, by preventing its communication with several adjoining Provinces, and in short he quartered his little Army, and permitted his men to live at discretion in the Country of *Aunis*.

The unexpected Expedition of the Duke *d'Epernon* did extreamly surprize the Court. They were afraid, that the whole Reformed Party would rise up to relieve a Town, which was the strongest Bulwark of their Religion. And indeed, they begun to run thither in great haste from several places. *Du Plessis-Mornai*, who was always intent on the preservation of the Rights of those of his own Religion, had advised the Duke *de la Tremouille*, then returning from *Soissons*, to go with all speed to *Rochele*, with as many men as he could possibly raise. The Governour of *Sauvage* caused on his side an hundred Gentlemen and as many Carabineers to march under the command of *Villarnoux* and *la Tabarie* his two Sons-in-law. But the King having dispatched an *Exempt* of his Guards, with orders to the Inhabitants of *Rochele*, that they should deliver up the Castle of *Rochele* into the hands of that Officer, and that the Duke *d'Epernon* should withdraw his Troops from the Country of *Aunis*, the *Rochele*rs sent to meet the Succours that were coming up to their Relief, to desire them not to advance any further. But they

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*The Life of
du Plessis
Mornai. 1.11.
Letters and
Memoirs by
the same.
1616.*

were soon after very sorry for their having so rashly countermanded those Succours. *Epernon* who was not willing to lay down his Arms, eluded the orders of the Court, and answered with his usual haughtiness, that the Government of the Country of *Aunis* being legally made over to him, he thought he might very well take possession of it.

And that he might the better conceal his real design, the Duke published a *Manifesto*, which was dispersed through all *France*. If the Writer who lent his Pen to *Epernon* was not a *Gascon* himself, we must say to his commendation, that never did any man so well imitate the Genius and Humour of the *Gascons*, which the Duke had always the highest opinion of. No doubt but the Reader will be glad to see here some abstracts of this piece. It will help him the better to understand the temper of a man, that had play'd his part very cunningly for a long time, during the Reigns of three Kings. He was a favourite to the first; gave great disturbances and apprehensions to the second; and being sometimes in favour, and sometimes in disgrace with the last, he had been concerned in most of the Events that had happened in the *Cardinal de Richelieu* thought within himself that he should not be able quietly to enjoy his great Authority, till he had first humbled and brought down a Lord, who still retained his fiery temper, and

*Manifesto's of
the Duke of
Epernon, and
of the Inhabi-
tants of Ro-
chell.*

*Mercure
Francois.*
1616.

1616. an ungovernable Courage, tho he was above fourscore years of age.

I thought, said he in his Manifesto, that at last I should be secure from the strokes of my evil fortune, and that being weary of prosecuting me, she would permit me for the future to live to my self, and give me leave to pay my last debt to Nature in quiet: But I am strongly now convinc'd she is an irreconcileable enemy to me, and very ingenious in her ways of tormenting me. I must now here expect to find that tranquility I wish for. All things pass away in this world, but there is no end to my Disgraces. I have gone through all imaginable troubles during the Reigns of two great Potentates. I am my self exposed to the hatred of two powerful Parties formed against the Government: And now they are both joined together against me, because I would not come into either of them. And tho they are in all things else opposite to each other as light and darkness, yet they both agree together in this, viz. the conspiring of my Ruin. I have served the late King against the League, without attempting to do any thing against the Interest of my Religion. And I may boldly say, that the only trouble I ever procured him, was that of obliging him by his own Conversion to conquer whole Towns and Provinces. Was it possible for the most extravagant Spaniard in the world to carry the Rhodomontado further? No doubt but those that are acquainted with the History of the two former Reigns, will laugh.

laugh at the Stories which the Duke 1616.
d' Epernon sets forth with all the gra-
vity and seriousness imaginable. After
a long and proud enumeration of his
eminent services, since the death of
Henry IV. he complains that the Inha-
bitants of *Rochell*, being envious at his
Repose and Quiet way of living, would
not permit him to taste the sweetness
of Retreat and Solitude. And by rela-
ting (after his own fashion) the attempts
of his pretended Enemies, he accuses
them of designing to make their own ad-
vantages from the publick Calamities of the
Kingdom, of having Schemes of Rebellion
all ready drawn, to be the more able to rise
upon the first opportunity; of forming them-
selves into a little Commonwealth of Pyrates
and Thieves, and of refusing to own in a
ny manner, the King's Authority.

The latter end of the Manifesto suits
well with the beginning. *I must not
suffer*, pursued *Epernon*, *Injustice to en-
croach upon the Fortunes of private men.*
*Shall I stand with my hands across, whilst
the Subjects of my Master triumph over his
Authority without being punished?* The
Sovereign loses just so much in power, as
the People raise themselves too high. And
therefore that all France may be informed
of the Integrity of my Intentions, and the
Justice of my Cause, I declare, that hav-
ing nothing more at my heart, than to live
in rest and quiet, 'tis with regret that I
find my self obliged of necessity to repel
Force.

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Force by Force. I ought to make my self owned in my Government, and I will upon so pressing an occasion as this, make use of the King's Troops, and the Succours of my Friends, for the service of his Majesty. The Duke's Manifesto was followed with a false and scandalous account of what had passed since the attempt upon Rochefort. The Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of Rochell were in no manner concerned at the Gasconading Expressions of Epernon, nor the injurious Language wherewith he abused them. For being perswaded that the World was well enough acquainted with the Rhodomantadoes and fiery Temper of their Adversary, they only published a plain and true Account of what had been done on both sides. By the bare setting forth of those Transactions, and of their Lawful Rights and Priviledges, they soon made the Duke d' Epernon appear very ridiculous, and sufficiently justified their proceedings. The Laughers were none of them on Epernon's side. The world applauded the witty saying of Aubigne upon this occasion, *The Duke d' Epernon is come to make his Entry before Rochell.*

The Duke d' Epernon does not deserve to be called a

Being puffed up with the first success of his Expedition, and finding that the Inhabitants of Rochell had no Troops to oppose him, he despised the jests that were made of him, and hoped in a little while that his turn of Raillery would

would come, when he should make his 1616.
Entry not before, but into *Rochell*, which
he fancied he should have taken by sur-
prise: Nor did he doubt, but that after
so fine and so glorious a Conquest, he
should not only obtain the Government
of *Guienne*, but also the state of High
Constable of France. *Epernon* was huge- 1616.
ly feeding himself up with these Chimæ-
ra's, when on a sudden *Boissise*, Coun-
cellour of State, brought him fresh Or-
ders. His Majesty had sent him, at the
solicitation of honest *Du Plessis Mornai*,
who powerfully represented to the King's
Council, how important it was to pre-
vent a Civil War, which, if once was
raised and kindled by the haughty spirit
of the Duke, and the stiffness of the In-
habitants of *Rochell*, they would find a
very hard matter to lay and put out:

Boissise met *Epernon* at his Lodgings at *Surgères*, with full resolutions to march
directly to *Rochell*, which was but four
Leagues from him, and there the Coun-
cellour of State gave him to understand
that his attempt upon *Rochell* would
perhaps put the whole Kingdom into a
Flame, and therefore desired him to
have regard to the positive, as well as
threatening Orders of the King, brought
to him by his Majesty's Commissioner:
But *Epernon* was so far from hearken-
ing to what he said, that he command-
ed before *Boissise*'s face, the Horse to
mount, and the whole body of his

Troops

*The Life of E-
pernon*, l. 8.
*The Life of
Du Plessis*
Mornai, l. 4.
*Letters and
Memoirs*, by
the same.

1616. Troops to march towards *Rochell*. The Commissioners seeing thus his Majesty's Orders disobeyed, and being surprized at the Duke's haughty carriage, hastened away to the Town with all speed, and protested to the Inhabitants of *Rochell*, that their Majesties did utterly declare against the motives of *Epernon*, and that his proceedings were directly contrary to their Will; and in short, declared to them, that they were allowed to take up Arms to resist the Violence that should be offered to them.

Such a Declaration as this, seemed to give the Inhabitants of *Rochell* leave to provide for their Defence as well as they could. Wherefore they called an Assembly of some of the Reformed Neighbouring Provinces: And there it was resolved to send some Deputies to the Court, humbly to beseech the King in the name of the Assembly, to Command the Duke & *Epernon* to desist from his design. But his Majesty refused to give them Audience, under pretence, that those from whom they had been deputed, were not assembled by the King's permission. But for fear of giving too great discontent to the Reformed Party, that were too highly alarmed already, the Baron *de Vignoles*, an intimate Friend of *Epernon's*, was dispatched with Orders still more positive and pressing, to oblige the Duke to shew his Obedience. He avoided as long as he could, seeing a man

man that brought him Orders, which were so contrary to the haughtiness of his spirit, and the great designs he had formed. After I know not how many puts off, and affected delays, he was at last obliged to receive his Orders, for he could not any longer shift *Vignoles* off, without openly declaring himself at the same time a Rebel.

Epernon promised to withdraw his Troops, so soon as ever the Inhabitants of *Roche*~~ell~~ should have delivered *Roche*~~fort~~ into the King's hands. He only desired his Majesty would be pleased to own that he approved of what he had done in that Affair, for fear his Enemies should one time or other take advantage of it to trouble and molest him. I have at least this Comfort, said this high spirited Duke to *Vignoles*, of having discovered to the whole Kingdom the weakness of the *Roche*~~llers~~, how little their Party is united, and how easily they might be reduced, whenever the King should think fit to undertake it. If his Majesty had given me leave to go on with them as far as I could, I should have done him a very extraordinary piece of service, and without much difficulty. But I find with extreme Regret, that my Enemies have now a mighty ascendant at Court, and are jealous of the Honour that I should have gained. We will yield (since it must be so) to their malice, and obey the Orders of our Master, how prejudicial soever they may be otherwise to his service.

This

1616. This plainly shews the Gascoone fierceness of this good Lord. When *Louis XIII.* resolved to take *Rochell*, he stood in need of a more numerous Army, as also of one that was better provided than this of *Epernon*, to carry on his design. And if *Rochell* were then so weak, how could the Inhabitants thereof hold out so long against the whole Forces of the King? The Writer of this Duke's Life, certainly took us for men of another World, when he gives us these wild Rhodomontado's of his Hero, for something that was solid and well digested.

The Life of the Duke d'Epernon, l. i.

This Affair was spun out till the month of February in the following year. Then *Epernon* wrote a Letter to the King, but it was as *Gasconade*, that is to say, in as baughty a style as the Manifesto he had published at the beginning of this his great Expedition. It ended however in the Conquest of the Castle of *Surgeres*, and in the pillaging of some Country Houses. This Letter was dated from a place taken with too much Pomp and Magnificence. *My Hands are clean, Sir, laid Epernon to the King: My Conscience does not reproach me in any thing; my Reputation has never been stained. I have served you with an inviolable Fidelity; and I may say without vanity, that I have deserved a better Reward.* Your Majesty is not ignorant how that something is every day reckoned and pul-

pulled from the unquestionable Rights of my Employments. But, Sir, the wrongs I suffer, shall never binder me from performing my duty faithfully. I will postpone my just Resentments to the last, and forget all the injuries I am not able to revenge, but at the expence of the Publick. These are noble sentiments, but were they really sincere? Some time after he had sent this fine Letter, he got together as many, both of Friends and Troops as possibly he could raise, with hopes to have an Army of eight thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, and he was resolved to defend his Fortune with open force. At the close of his Letter the Duke de Epernon represented the Marechal d'Ancre to the King, as an ambitious man and a Tyrant, that made use of his Majesties name to oppress the People, to incroach even upon the Kings Authority, and to disturb his Repose, by alienating the mind of his Majesty from those, who for their long and many eminent services done him, had made themselves worthy of the best place in his affection. Now all this was not said without some Reason. There was a powerful Cabal at Court, and Luynes the new Favourite was entered into it. They were intriguing by all the ways imaginable how absolutely to destroy the Marechal d'Ancre in the good esteem of young Lewis. His most intimate confidants were continually representing to him, that Canabini was the sole person, that being.

1616. being supported by the Queen Mother, kept the great Lords of the Kingdom, from coming to throw themselves at his Majesty's Feet.

*A Continuation
of the War
between the
Venetians
and the Arch-
duke of
Gratz.*

*Noni Historia
Vener. 1. 11.
1616.*

The Marechal de *Lefdignieres* was no ways concerned in the Broils of the Court of France. O'erjoy'd that he had nothing to do with *Conchini*, and that he had fortified himself by the reciprocal Confederation betwixt him and the Dukes *de Montmorency* and *Epernon*, he wholly busied himself about the affairs of *Italy*; and *Lefdignieres* found a double benefit by it. The Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians* both courted his friendship. These two Powers were negotiating as much with him as with the Court of *France*: and the name of *Lefdignieres* was as much as

Leviathan, if not more dreadful to the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, than the name of the King his Master, *Charles Emanuel* returned *Moneg* to *Liguria*, that so the Marechal might have his Troops in a readiness to march into *Italy*, in case *Don Pedro de Toledo*, Gouverneur of *Milan*, should attempt any thing against *Piemont*. And the Republick of *Venice* engaged in a War with *Ferdinand of Austria*, Arch-Duke of *Gratz* in *Siria*, was endeavouring to reinforce her Army in the *Frioul*, with some *French* Regiments. *Lefdignieres* was the only Lord in the Kingdom capable of serving the *Venetians* upon occasion. Wherefore they did often return him

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Money, both for themselves and for the Duke of Savoy. All this was extremely agreeable to the Covetousness and Ambition of a man whose thoughts were wholly taken up with making his fortune by the trade of War, and in acquiring to himself a Great Name, and so raising himself to the first Dignities of the Kingdom. The Intrigues of Italy were more suitable to *Lesdiguières*'s mind than those of France. And by a happy Accident for the increasing still his Reputation, affairs there grew more imbroiled than ever towards the latter end of this year. *Duc Pedro* gained over the Duke de *Nemours* to his Interest: he caused him to declare War against *Charles Emanuel* his King-man, and in short, the Gouvernour of Milan made an irruption into Piedmont. The King of France endeavoured to compose all these differences, by the Mediation of the Marquis de *Béthune* his Extraordinary Ambassador in Italy. But, said young *Lewis* to *Du Plessis-Mornay*, the Peace between the Duke of Savoy and the Gouvernour of Milan depends upon that of the Venetians with the Arch-Duke of *Gratz*, which is not so easie a matter to manage: And in the mean time the War breaks out with greater violence beyond the Mountains. This I am now to explain.

At the Interview of the Maréchal de *Lesdiguières* and the Marquis de *Béthune*, at a place called *Verpiliere*, upon the Confines of the *Liennois* and *Dauphiny*, the

*A Letter
from King
Lewis XIII.
to Du Plessis
Mornay, dated
Oct. the 15.*

1616.

*Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite.*

*Tom. III.
pag. 440.
441, 467.*

*468.
Nani Historia
Venera l. II..*

Ma- 1616.

161 Mareschal informed *Bethune*, that it would be a very hard matter to perswade the Duke of *Savoy* to hearken to a Peace. For besides that he had not the least inclination to it, the *Venetians* lately joined in Interest with his Highness, engaged him not to disband his Troops, for fear the *Spaniards* having concluded a Peace, might be in a condition to make a powerful diversion on the side of the *Milaneſe*, in favour of the Arch-Duke of *Gratz*, whom the Republick attacked vigorously in the *Frioul*. Soon after *Bethune* acknowledged that the Mareschal had told him the truth of that *Business*. He met in his way *Oſtavio Bono*, Ambaſſadour Extraordinary from *Venice*, who was ſent from that Senate to the King, to give his Majefty thanks for his Mediation, and the good Offices he had offered to them for adjusting their differences with the Arch-Duke. The two Ambaſſadours diſcourſed together concerning the affairs of *Italy*. *Bono* ſaid to *Bethune*, that his Maſters were reſolved to revenge themſelves of the Injustices *Ferdinand* had done them; powerfully to affiſt the Duke of *Savoy*, and to repreſent in lively colours to the Court of *France*, that it was the glory of his moſt Christian Majefty, not to ſuffer the King of *Spain* to opprefſ a Neighbouring State that was not equal to him in Forces, and that it was the intereſt of the Crown of *France* to oppoſe the Houſe of *Austria*, for fear it ſhould.

should still extend its power further in *Italy*. The discourse thoroughly convinced *Bethune*, that there were so strict a Confederacy between *Charles Emmanuel*, and the *Venetians*, that the one could never conclude a Peace without the other.

These great and able Politicians negotiated also very strenuously in *Germany* as well as in *France*. *John Bembo* Procurator of *S. Mark*, having been made Doge in the room of *Mark Anthony Memo*, deceased about the latter end of the precedent year, the Senate sent *Gussoni* to the Protestant Princes of the League of *Germany*, to acquaint them with the Reasons that had induced them to declare War against the Arch-Duke of *Gratz*, and to bring them over to the Interests of the Republick, in case the Emperor *Mathias* would assist *Ferdinand* his Cousin. The Remonstrances of the Senate were very kindly received by the Protestant Princes. The Elector Palatine, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* laboured at the Court of *Vienna*, and pressed his Imperial Majesty to engage the Arch-Duke to rest satisfied with the reasonable terms the Republick seemed to offer him. *Ferdinand* was likewise mighty active on his side; all the Foreign Courts rung again with his Complaints against the *Venetians*. The Emperor *Mathias*, and *Maximilian* Arch-Duke of *Inspruck* his Brother, made at first some noise in behalf of their Kinsman,

but

Nani Historia
Veneta l. ii.
1616.

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but at last they became Neuters. The Cardinal of Clest Premier Minister to his Imperial Majesty, liked neither the unquiet and ambitious humour of *Ferdinand*, nor the *Spaniards*, who adhered more to that Prince than to the Emperor. The Pope offered his services to the Arch-Duke, but it was only upon the account of the Peace, which he was solicitous about. The Great Duke of *Tuscany* likewise did the same, and only for the same Reason; so that *Ferdinand* had no other resource or refuge to rely on but the bare assistance of the King of *Spain*. The Court of *Madrid* at first seemed to ballance and waver, and only offered her Mediation to the *Venetians*. *Don Pedro de Toledo*, Governor of *Milan* declared also, that the Senate had very good reasons for their being so earnest to destroy the *Uscques*. But the War appearing afterwards more advantageous to the Interests and designs of the *Spanish* Ministers in *Italy*, these Gentlemen altered both their minds and discourses.

The Arch-Duke by his Ministers had represented to his Imperial Majesty, who exhorted him to Peace, that he could by no means with Honour hearken to it, unless the Republick would in the first place restore all that they had taken from him. But the *Venetians* being enraged at such a demand, resolved to carry on the War with vigour. Wherefore

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite.
Tom. iii. p.
431. 432.
etc.
Nani Histo-
ria Veneta,
1626.

fore they sat down immediately before *Gradisque*, a strong place in *Frioul*. They designed afterwards to march to *Goritz*, and make themselves Masters of all the County, as far as the Mountains of *Istria*. The right of conveniency seems something very legal to Sovereigns, Princes and States. The *Venetians*, as ambitious as any other Potentates, tho' they always make an outward shew of great Moderation, did not despair of being able to obtain by a Treaty the Remainder of the *Frioul*, to indemnify themselves for the losses they had suffered by the *Uscques*. But the Senate, how wise soever it may appear, is sometimes subject to be dazzled with Chimeraical Projects, and doth not take right measures. The Siege of *Gradisque* was so wretchedly carried on, and the Officers of the *Venetian* Army lived in so ill an understanding amongst themselves, that after a very considerable loss, the Army was forced to make a shameful Retreat. They endeavoured to cover their fault, by saying that they had left off attacking that place, that so the Negotiations of Peace might be made more easie, being then renewed by the Pope's *Nuntio*, the Ambassador of *France*, and the Ministers of some other Princes. The Governour of *Milan* demanded of the Senate in the name of the King of *Spain*, with a haughty and threatening air, the raising of the Siege of *Gradisque*, and

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and a suspension of Arms, during which time they would try if they could accommodate their differences. *Don Pedro* sent some Troops towards the Frontiers of the Republick : He gave them sufficiently to understand, that the King of *Spain* would protect the Arch-Duke his Kinsman, in case they persisted in their resolutions to attack him. These motions of the Governour of *Milan* were a good pretence to the *Venetians* for covering the shameful Retreat of their Army, and the little skill of their General, that had so very unluckily sat down before *Gradisque*.

When the Arch-Duke first received the news of this attempt of the *Venetians*, he made loud Complaints of it to the Court of *Vienna*. But the Emperor did not much concern himself about them, whether he was in himself of a weak and unactive temper; or that the Senate had gained the Cardinal of *Clesel* to their Interests. However, *Mathias* sent a Commission to *Cesario*, the Great Duke of *Tuscanie*, and to *Ferdinand* Duke of *Mantua*, with powers to proceed in his name, to adjust the differences between the *Venetians* and the Arch-duke of *Gratz*: But the Ministers of the King of *Spain* prevented the two Commissioners of his Imperial Majesty from entring into any Negotiation. The Pope at the solicitation of the Cardinal of *Borgia* proposed by his *Nuncio* to the Senate, that

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the places taken from the Arch-Duke should be delivered into a third person's hands, till the conclusion of the Peace. This Proposal did not seem very practicable. For in what Princes hands could they intrust those Places? The Pope's? He was too old; and his Successor might be a Creature of the House of *Austria*. The Emperors, or the King of *Spain*? They were both so nearly related to the Arch-Duke, that they were suspected by the Senate. In a word, Princes of lesser power than those, were not in a condition to keep the trust, in case the Arch-Duke should go about to force it out of their hands. Many other Proposals were likewise made, but they appeared so unreasonable, that notwithstanding the ill success they had met with in the busines of *Gradisqne*, the Senate resolved to carry on the War in *the Frioul*. But they did not repair the losses they suffered at the beginning of the Campaign. *Transmendorf*, General to the Arch-Duke, put the *Venians* often to their last shifts; and the sickness that then raged in both their Armies, would not permit either of them to make any considerable progress. The Hostilities served still to make the Peace more difficult between the two Parties, and prov'd also the greatest obstacle to the successful carrying on the Negotiation of the Marques of *Bethune* in *Italy*.

1616.

*The arrival
of the Mar-
quess of Be-
thune at
Turin.*

*Vittorio Sui
Memorie re-
cendite. Tom
iii. p. 453.
454, &c.*

During his Journey, the Letters he received from the King of *France*, gave him some hopes that all things would meet with an happy Issue. King *Lewis* wrote to *Bethune*, that *Senecey*, Ambassador from his Majesty at *Madrid*, had received new assurances that the King of *Spain* would faithfully perform the Treaty of *Ast*. *Bethune* was also informed that the Duke of *Montecon*, King *Philip*'s Ambassador in *France*, made the same protestations, and that the dispatches received from the Court of *Vienna*, did promise that they would set all hands at work to procure an accommodation between the Arch-Duke and the *Venetians*. But King *Lewis* did not all this while perceive that the design of the *Spaniards* was only to amuse him with fair words, from the great expectations they had that the intestine Broils in *France*, would not suffer his Majesty to send any great succours to the Duke of *Savoy*. And altho that Kingdom had been in the profoundest Peace in the World, yet the Council of *Spain* relied very much on the good inclinations of *Mary de Medicis*, to oblige the Catholick King, and on those whom the *Spanish* Pittoles had gained over to their Interests at the Court of *France*. All the discourses both at *Paris* and *Madrid*, were concerning the good intentions of the King of *Spain*, for maintaining the Peace of *Italy*. And when they pressed the Gouvernour of

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Milan to perform what his Master had promised, and still every day continued doing so to the most Christian King, the subtle intriguing *Spaniard* found out and alleged new Reasons which obliged King *Philip* to keep a good Body of Troops on foot.

Mangeant, Resident from *France* at *Turin*, had received a fresh Order to go to *Milan*, and to deliver to *Don Pedro* the Letter the King had written to him. He received it with much respect; but when he pressed him to execute the Treaty of *Ast*, by disbanding the Troops that gave so much jealousy to the Duke of *Savoy*, and served him for a pretence to keep up his own Forces, and to make still new Levies, *Don Pedro* seemed to be surprized at such a Proposal. To execute the Treaty of *Ast*, answered he, why hath not the King my Master performed it with all the faithfulness in the World? He has disbanded all the auxiliary Troops which were sent him at the time of the Rupture with the Duke of *Savoy*. When his Majesty promised the most Christian King to disarm, he did not engage himself never for the future to make any new Levies. You very well know, Sir, that the face of Affairs is much altered since. The King my Master has very good reasons for keeping himself now armed. That does not concern *Piemont*. Wherefore should the Duke of *Savoy* be alarmed at it? Two great Kings have passed their words to

1616. him that he shall not be attacked. Is not that a better security for him than all the Troops he pretends to keep on foot? Don Pedro intimated to Mangeant, that Spain only armed on the account of the Quarrels between the Venetians and the Arch-Duke of Gratz. But whether his natural fire did prompt him to say somewhat more than he designed to do at first, or that he had some secret reasons to himself for what he said, however, the Governour of Milan gave sufficient grounds to conclude, that the Forces he was raising might be designed against Piemont. 'Tis the Duke of Savoy himself, pursued he, that makes an open infraction of the Treaty of Ast. He raises Forces on all sides. But if his Highness delays any longer to disband them, the King my Master will be, in short, obliged to make use of his Power against a Prince, that will not perform what he has promised. And his most Christian Majesty, who is united with the King my Master, will not take it amiss, if he shall require the Respect that is due to him.

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite.
Tom. III.
pag. 440,
461, 467.

Such was the posture of Affairs in Italy, when the Marques of Bethune arrived at Turin. He found Charles Emanuel full of suspicions and jealousies, because of the affected delays of the Governour of Milan, and the shifting turns he made every day. His Highness exclaimed with great anger and bitterness against the infidelity of the Spaniards,

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niards, and the troubles they were continually bringing upon him ever since the conclusion of the Treaty of *Ast.* He did not forget to tell him of their under-hand dealings to engage the Prince of *Piemont* to rise up in Rebellion, and the offers they had made him of Succours, if he would but dethrone his Father. The Ambassador of *France* used his utmost Politicks to sweeten all things; he assured the Duke of the certain protection of *France*, in case *Spain* should any ways go about to oppress him. *I have only one thing more, my Lord, to acquaint you with*, said *Bethune* to him, *and that is, That the King my Master makes it his earnest Request to you, that you would punctually execute the Treaty of *Ast*, to the end, that the Spaniards may have no grounds for further complaints against you, and that his Majesty may openly assist you. The Mareschal de *Lesdiguières* will come to confer with your Highness, if you think it convenient. He will inform himself of the condition of the Government of *Milan*, and you will take together the necessary measures for your security, in case *Don Pedro* refuses to keep his promise with the King my Master, according to the Treaty, whereof his Majesty is Guarantee.* *Charles Emanuel* willingly consented to have a conference with the Mareschal de *Lesdiguières*. This resolution gave some disturbance to the *Venetians*. They were afraid lest the Mareschal should persuade

1616. the Duke to rely upon the promise the King of *France* had given him, that the *Spaniards* should not attack the *Piemont*, after which the Governour of *Milan*, being secured of *Charles Emanuel*, might have fallen upon the Republick with all the *Spanish Forces*. And it was with a design to ward off this Blow, that the Ambassador of *Venice* was so prodigal of his Money at the Court of *Turin*, before *Lesdiguières* arrived there.

Lesdiguières set out the 13th of *June* from *Grenoble* with a very magnificent Equipage and Retinue. The Duke of *Savoy* omitted nothing that he thought might be capable of gaining to his Interest a Lord, who was so necessary to him in the present conjuncture. Therefore he

History of Lesdiguières was received at *Turin* with all the honours that could have been shewn to a

High Constable of France. *L. VIII. Chap. II.*

Vittorio Siri memorie recondite. Tom. III. pag. 484, 485, 486, &c. Nani Historia Veneta. I. II. 2616. *Charles Emanuel*, had made her Entry into *Turin*, had been shut up ever since, and now it was opened for *Lesdiguières*; he passed through it with all the pomp imaginable. In the first discourses be-

tween the Mareschal and the Duke, *Lesdiguières* repeated the protestations, that the Marquis of *Berbune* had already made to his Highness, as from the most Christian King. And he beseeched likewise the Duke to rely upon the words that his Majesty had given him, that the *Spaniards* should not attack *Piemont*. *Charles Emanuel*

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nel answered to these new assurances with great Respect and Acknowledgment. But he still entreated the King not to take it amiss, if his Highness could not rely upon the promises of the Governor of *Milan*, so long as he should keep so considerable an Army on foot; because those that had but the least Insight into publick matters, saw plain enough, that the *Spaniards* had no other thoughts but only to deceive the Court of *France*, and the Princes of *Italy*, whom they had resolved to oppres.

The Duke of *Savoy* had united himself in so strict a Confederation with the *Venetians*, that he could not conclude any other Treaty, without the consent of that Republick. At the same time that the Marſchal exhorted *Charles Emanuel* to husband his Forces upon the bare word of the *French King*, the Ambassadors of *Venice*, *England*, and some Protestant Princes of *Germany* were continually remonſtrating to his Highness, that sooner or later the *Spaniards* would ruine him, if ever he should separate himſelf from the Interest of the *Venetians*: powerful insinuations into the mind of a Prince, who naturally loved Broils and War. Besides this, there was another thing which rendered him ſtill leſs ſusceptible of the Impreſſions that *Lesdignieres* would fain have inſtituted into him. The Prince of *Conde* and the Lords of his Party had ſtipulated in an Article of the Treaty of *London*, that

1616. his Majesty would employ his Power and Authority for the execution of what the King of Spain had promised to the Duke of Savoy. The Prince of Conde, whose Interest was growing in the Court of France, gave private Intelligence to the Duke of Savoy, that he should be sure to hold out resolutely against the Governour of Milan. They kept Charles Emanuel in lingering hopes that the Marquess de Chatillon would shortly bring him four thousand men, raised with the Money which the Venetians had returned into France. The Duke de Mayenne proffered himself also to conduct a considerable body of Troops for the service of the Republick. All these Encouragements made the Duke of Savoy more stiff and inflexible. He would never give his word to the Marechal de Lesdignieres, for the disbanding of his Troops, unless the Marquess of Bessbune would go first to Milan, to have the Governours assurance, that the Spaniards would break their Troops at the same time, as his Highness should disband his, and that they would punctually execute and observe the Treaty of *Algiers*.

The French Ambassador could hardly resolve with himself to make a journey to Milan. He was fully perswaded, that Don Pedro would never consent to the disarming of the Forces under his Command, so long as the Venetians should attack the Arch-Duke of Gratz. The pretence was too fair and specious for the Spaniards. But

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But the Court of *France* sending daily new orders to hasten the conclusion of the Treaty as soon as possible, for fear the King should at last be under a necessity to break with the *Spaniards*; A thing that *Mary de Medicis* was extreamly afraid of, and the Prince of *Conde*, who was now got to be more powerful than ever, did with all his heart wish for, in short the Marques of *Bethune* resolved to set out for *Milan*. He took then his journey in company with *Mangeant*. *Lesdiguieres* and the *French* Ambassador had drawn up a Memorial, to which they desired *Don Pedro* (as from the most *Christian* King) to give a positive answer. It was impatiently expected for sometime. But the Gouvernor of *Milan* would return none, unless in concert with *Vives* Minister from the King of *Spain* to the Republick of *Genoa*, an able and cunning Man, whose Genius and Manners were according to *Don Pedro*'s liking.

The answer was what ought to be expected from such two Gentlemen; full of dissimulation, artifice and ambiguities. They maintained therein, that his *Catholick* Majesty had entirely performed the Treaty of *Ast*; And amongst the ordinary complaints made by the *Spaniards*, of the infractions committed by the Duke of *Savoy*, they forgot not to insert his new Confederacies with the *Venetians*, and the money remitted to *France*, to raise the Souldiers that *Chatillon* was to bring

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Siri Memori
recondite.
Tom. III.
pag. 490.
491. 502.
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into Italy. *Bethune* being more confirm'd than ever in his opinion, that the Governor of *Milan* would not disarm, so long as the Republick of *Venice* would make War on a Prince of the House of *Austria*, came at last only to demand of *Don Pedro*, that for some time he would forbear making any attempt, till they might have new Instructions from the Court of *France*, and that the passes from *Piemon* into the *Milanese* might be left open for those who should be employed in the present Negotiation. The *Spaniard* readily promised it by word of mouth; for all the Springs he intended to make use of, were not as yet ready to play.

The Pope names an Extraordinary Nuncio to Negotiate the Peace of Italy in concert with the Marquess of Bethune, Ambassador from France.
Vittorio Siri Memoire récondite. Tom. III. Pag. 487. 488. 506.

The *French Ambassador* was very glad that he had at last obtained a short Truce from all Hostilities, for he was much afraid he should not have been able to prevent the beginnings of it. *Bethune* then flattered himself with hopes, that the Instances of the Pope joyn'd to the King his Master, would more easily dispose the two Parties to come to some conditions of Peace; especially, if the Court of *Rome* would at the same time undertake the Negotiation of a Peace between the *Venetians* and the *Areh-Duke*. The *Borgheses* had always seem'd so wholly taken up, in getting what Wealth they could for themselves, during the Pontificate of their Uncle, that they had had no leisure to insipre into him any good Sentiments for Religion, or for the tranquility of Christ.

ffendom. Perhaps also they were not much displeased to see the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Savoy* fall into great troubles and entanglements. Neither the Senate of *Venice*, nor *Charles Emmanuel* had ever had much consideration, or any great Respect and Diference for *Paul V.* Whatever might have been the real sentiments of the *Borgheses*, they did not seem much to concern themselves with the heats of those differences which were still increasing daily. If the Pope's Nuncio at *Venice* made any proposals of Peace, he did not prosecute them with that zeal he should have done, but left off his pursuits at the first difficulty. But, in thort, *Paul V.* thought that it was high time to give some Sign of Life. Wherefore at the pressing instances of the Marquess of *Trenel*, Ambassador from *France* at *Rome*, he resolved to send an Extraordinary Nuncio to endeavour, jointly with the Marquess of *Bethune*, to prevent the breaking out of a War, the consequences whereof he knew would be very fatal to *Italy*. The Spaniards laboured hard to divert the Pope from this resolution. *There is no necessity*, said Cardinal *Borgia*, the chief the Spanish Faction to him, *for employing upon this occasion the Authority of the Holy See*. The Governor of *Milan* knows how well enough to bring the *Venetians* to an agreement with the Arch-Duke. And after that, it will be no diffi-

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culs matter to compel the Duke of Savo
so bearken to reasonable terms. This arti-
ficious insinuation did put a stop for
some time to the execution of the de-
sign, which *Paul V.* was resolved upon.
But when he came to consider again,
that if *Charles Emanuel* (who was a man
of admirable address) should engage the
Mareschal de *Lesdiguières*, on whom he
bestowed all the Honours and Caresses
he could possibly express, to come down
into *Italy* at the head of a *French* Ar-
my, the War would be kindled there in
good earnest, and then there would be
an open Rupture betwixt the two
Crowns; the Pope at last determined to
name in full Consistory *Ludovisi* Arch-
bishop of *Bologna* to go in quality of his
Extraordinary Nuncio, to negotiate the
Peace of *Italy*. This proceeding of the
Pope gave *France* hopes, that the good
Offices of the Holy See, joyned to those
of the most Christian King, would re-
move all the difficulties and obstacles that
could be raised against coming to a happy
accommodation.

*Private Neg-
tiations of the
Mareschal de
Lesdiguières
at Turin, be-
fore his return
into Dauphi-
ny.*

The Mareschal de *Lesdiguières* made
use of his time well enough for his own
advantage, whilst he was waiting at
Turin, for the event of the Marquels de
Bethune's Negotiation at *Milan*. Whe-
ther the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetian*
Ambassador had made *Lesdiguières* (who
never could much resist the power of
Gold) any advantageous proffers, or that
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the Mareschal had perceived of himself, 1616.

that he had then a fair opportunity to get some *Sequins* from *Venice*, by promising them to procure some *French Regiments* to be raised for the service of that Republick: However, he entered into a Negotiation with the Ambassador from

*History of Lesdiguieres,
High Constable
of France.* l.

*8. chap. ii.
Nani Historia
Veneta. l. ii.*

Venice at *Turin*. *Lesdiguieres* promised him to raise by his own power four thousand men, that the Cotant of *Sault* his Grand-son should conduct into *Italy*.

*Ronco veri
Historia del
Regno dilui-
gi xiii. 5.*

Besides, also he further engaged to get from the Court of *France* an Order to *Gaffer* the King's Envoy to the *Grisons*, for their granting a passage for the Soldiers, that the Republick should raise in *Switzerland*: a thing which they could never yet obtain till that present time. And tho' *Potavino* their Ambassador, had for that purpose flung away a great deal of Money, in the Country of the *Grisons*, yet the Liberalities of the *Spaniards* (greater than those of the *Venetians*) had caused the Designs of the Republick to miscarry. *Lesdiguieres* returned then into *Dauphiny*, well enough pleased that he had so well managed his own Affairs, and not at all dissatisfied that he had made no progress in the business of his Master.

*The Duke of
Nemours pre-
vailed with by
the Gouvernor
of Milan, at-
tempts to make
himself Mar-
ker of Savoy.
Nani Historia
Veneta. l. ii.
dro 1616.*

After the return of the Mareschal de *Lesdiguieres* into *Dauphine*, there was no further discourse but of preparations for War, which were carried on both in *Piémont* and in the *Milanese*. *Don Pe-*

1616. *dro de Toledo* had raised a pretty good Army in Germany, Switzerland, the Kingdom of Naples and Lombardy. And he was in hopes that by the Valour and Experience of many brave Officers he should be able to repair the injury which either the Negligence, or perhaps the Infidelity of the Marques of *Anoia* his Predecessor had done to the arms of the King of Spain. *Charles Emanuel*, always big with confidence, and always taken up in compassing his vast projects, had also got together an Army, less indeed in number, than that of the Gouvernor of *Milan*, but his were Souldiers that had been long exercised under Martial Discipline. He not only proposed to himself effectually to defend his own Territories, but also to make an irruption into those of the King of Spain. The Duke de *Mayenne* had sent two Regiments of Foot to the Duke of *Savoy*, under the Command of the Marques of *Ufe*. *Lesdiguiers* had ordered six other Regiments to pass over the Mountains, besides the Regiment of *Gonillon*, which was already in *Piemont*. In short, the Duke de *Nemours* did promise to go in person to the assistance of *Charles Emanuel*, with four thousand Foot and five hundred Horse. There was no occasion for so many Troops to stimulate the Courage of the Duke of *Savoy*, and to awaken his ancient hopes, that with the succours of the *Christians* his

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his good Confederates, he should at last
drive the *Spaniards* out of all the *Mi-*
lanese.

Charles *Emanuel* fed himself up with
his imaginary Triumphs, when he re-
ceived some News that mortified him
strangely. He was affraid he should see
himself driven both out of *Piemont* and
Savoy. *Don Pedro* was flattering himself
with the Conquest of *Piemont*, whilst
the Duke *de Nemours*, gained over by
the Artifices of the *Spaniards*, was mak-
ing in their favour a powerful diversion
in *Savoy*. The attempts of the Gover-
nour of *Milan* upon *Victor Amedeus*,
Prince of *Piemont*, having proved inef-
fectual, the *Spaniard* applied himself to
Henry of Savoy, Duke *de Nemours*, the
Head of the youngest Branch of the
House of *Savoy*, who had been settled in
France. *Henry*, naturally ambitious and
inconsiderate, fell into the snare that
Don Pedro had cunningly laid for him.
He was mightily displeased with the
Carriage of *Charles Emanuel*, who had
several times deceived his own Relations,
as well as others. *Nemours* had formed
a design ever since the year 1611. of
marrying the Lady *d' Ayenale* in *France*,
but the Duke of *Savoy* forced him to
break off those Engagements he had al-
ready made to her; by promising him
one of the Princesses of *Savoy*. *Henry*,
being extremely provoked that he had
tangled with him thus five years together,
and

1616.

and vexed at several other very odd tricks that *Charles Emanuel* had play'd him, could not forbear shewing his resentment on divers occasions: and the *Guises* his near Relations, always firm to the Interests of the Crown of *Spain*, which had for a long time protected them, cherished this Aversion in the Duke *de Nemours* against the head of his Family. *Don Pedro de Toledo*, very well informed how he stood affected, offered him the Investiture of the Dukedom of *Savoy*, in case he would come and serve his Catholick Majesty, who was justly displeased with *Charles Emanuel*.

The Dukes of *Guise* and *Monteleon*, Ambassador from *Spain* at the Court of *France*, were in this Intrigue. They both promised the Duke *de Nemours* to send him Troops into *Savoy*. But if he had but a little reflected, and prudently considered these promises, he might have easily foreseen that there was no ground for him to rely upon. It was formerly a common Artifice of the *Spaniards* to lure on persons of a distinguished Rank and Eminence, with the hopes of obtaining a Sovereign Power, whenever they had a design to engage them to their Interests. But so many persons had been decoy'd by such promises, that *Nemours* ought to have become wise by their Example. How could he persuade himself, that upon the bare word of the Governour of *Milan*,

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lan and some Ministers of *Spain*, *Philip* 1616.
would rob his own Nephews to enrich
a Stranger; and that *France*, *Italy* and
Germany, would suffer the *Spaniards* to
establish him in the possession of *Piémont*,
and make *Savoy* a Fief of the Crown of
their King? Yet notwithstanding, *Nemours*
being blinded with an unaccount-
able ambition, did promise he would
declare himself against the Head of his
own Family, upon condition, that they
should give him the Dukedom of *Savoy*,
for which himself and his Posterity
would do homage to his Catholick Ma-
jesty. The execution of this design did
not seem liable to great difficulties. *Nemours*
had Lands and Castles in *Savoy*.
He was in hopes that under pretence of
bringing together the small Army which
he had promised to conduct into *Pie-
mont*, to reinforce that of *Charles Eman-
uel*, he might make himself Master of a
great part of *Savoy*; and that the Troops
which the *Spaniards* were to send him
from *Franche-Comté*, being joyned with
those that he expected from *France*,
would help him to Conquer the rest,
whilst the Duke of *Savoy* should be oc-
cupied in the defence of *Piémont* against
the Gouverour of *Milan*.

But the Duke de *Nemours* had to do
with a Prince too vigilant, and who laid
out much Money in Spies. *Charles E-
manuel* presently discovered the Plot.
He was first informed that the Gover-
nour v.

*The projects of
the Duke de
Nemours
miscarry.
Ranoveri
Historia del
Regno di
Luigi. xiii. l.*

1616.

Victorio Siri
Memorie re-
conde. Tom.
iii. pag. 512,
513, 552,
553.
Mercure
Francois.
1616.

nour of *Milan* caused Money to be returned to the Duke de *Nemours*. And then a Secretary of *Don Pedro*, bought off by the Duke of *Savoy*, acquainted him with the whole mystery. His Highness immediately sent his Orders to the Marquels of *Lure*, Gouvernour of *Savoy*; they secured the places that *Nemours* had a design first to seize upon, and when his Troops came up to enter into those places, they were beaten back. *Victor Amelans*, Prince of *Piemont*, hastened away also into *Savoy*, and possessed himself of all those places, through which the Reinforcement expected from *Franche Comte* was to pass. In short, *Nemours* having been very ill payed the Money the *Spaniards* had promised him, found himself in a little time without any Troops. His Souldiers deserted him, insomuch that he was obliged to fly into *Franche Comte*. He made several other attempts to enter again into *Savoy*, with some Troops he had gathered together, the best he could get. But after some unsuccessful efforts, no other resource was left him, but to accept of the offers made him by the Duke of *Bellegarde*, Great Master of the Horse, and Gouvernour of *Burgundy*, and the Marquels d' *Alincourt*, Gouvernour of *Lions*, to Negotiate his Reconciliation with the Duke of *Savoy*. There were several reasons that did concur to induce *Charles Emanuel* readily to forgive the like Treacheries.

cheries. He was guilty of so much perfidiousness himself, that he ought not to look upon them as very extraordinary Crimes: And according to his own opinion, therein consisted the ability of Princes. But besides that, his natural temper inclined him to Indulgence, his Highness was at that time imbroiled with such important Affairs, that he was glad to agree with a Domestick Enemy. This Treaty was signed the 14th of November, by the Prince of Piemont and by the Duke de Nemours.

Endorsed the Pope's Nuncio, and the Marquess de Béthune, who were afterwards joyned in the Negotiation of the same affair, had already proposed some conditions reasonable enough. Charles Emanuel did not seem much averse to the accepting of them; whether the Conspiracy of the Duke de Nemours gave him some disturbance; or that he had a design to gain France entirely to his Interest, by shewing his readiness for the speedy conclusion of the Peace. The Governour of Milan, on the contrary, did talk like a man that desired nothing else but War. At most he only shew'd that he had only some regards for the pressing instances that the Pope's Nuncio made him on the part of his Holiness. But it was only out of a mere Compliment. Paul V. was not singly by himself a Mediator capable of compelling both Parties to an accommmodation. The

Hostilities begin between the Spaniards and the Inhabitants of Savoy.

*Vitellio Suri
Memorie recondite Tom.
iii. pag. 520,
521, 522, &c.
Nani Historia
Veneta. l. ii.
1616.*

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1616. King of *France* had power enough to do it : but the *Spaniards* being informed that affairs were still in a hurley burley at this Court, and that the *French* would shortly break out a Civil War, they did not trouble themselves any further than only to observe some outward measures. They did not doubt, but *France*, being embroiled at home, would not be in a condition to protect her Allies ; besides, they relied much upon the diversion the Duke *de Nemours* promised to give in *Savoy*.

Berthane, in concert with *Ludoviso*, had proposed, that the restitution of the places taken on both sides, should be made pursuant to the Treaty of *Ast* ; that the time appointed to disarm should be further put off ; that the Duke of *Savoy* and the Governor of *Milan* should engage themselves not to commit any act of Hostilities one against the other during that time ; and that *Don Pedro* should promise that he would not attack the Republick of *Venice*, until the most Christian King had adjusted their differences with the Arch-Duke of *Gratz*. *Charles Emanuel* readily yielded to these conditions. But the Governor of *Milan* was not so easie to be brought over as the Duke. *Honour*, answered he haughtily, when these terms were proposed to him, does not allow the King my Master, to suffer any longer the Duke of *Savoy* obstinately to refuse to put in Execution the Treaty

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Treaty of Aſt. Let his Highness forth-
with disarm: and the King my Master
will quickly perform all things he has pro-
mised his most Christian Majesty. The
Troops he maintains, have been raised for
some private reason not unknown to Mary
de Medicis, Mother to the King of France,
and ſhe does approve of it. This buuiness
does not concern the Duke of Savoy. As
to the difference between the Republike of
Venice and the Arch-Duke of Gratz, I
have received no Orders about it, and I
cannot do any thing in it, without the con-
ſent of his Highness. I will only promise
to make uſe of my best Interest with him and
the Senate. And I will perſuade them as
much as poſſible I can to a Peace.

Charles Emanuel perſiſting ſtill in his
courageous refuſal to ſubmit himſelf to
the conditions the Spaniards would lay
upon him with too much Haughtineſs
and Authority; Don Pedro made in
good earnest, all the neceſſary prepara-
tions for entering into a War. He had
been ſick ſome time before: but ſo ſoon
as the proud Spaniard was a little re-
covered of his health, he marched his
Forces to the very Frontiers of Piemont.
His Army conſiſted of twenty thouſand
Foot, and three thouſand Horse. The
Duke of Savoy expeſted the Enemy in a
good poſture near Verceil, with eighteen
thouſand men, Horse and Foot. And
tho his Forces were inferior in number
to thoſe of Spain, yet his Highneſs did
not

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite Tom.
iii. p. 531,
532, &c.
Nani Histo-
ria Veneta. I.
ii. 1616.

1616.

not only hope to give the Enemy a Repulse, but also to enter the *Milaneze* or *Montferrat*. I shall not give here a particular account of the Hostilities committed on both sides; it would be too tedious. I will only observe, that if the Spaniards did attack the Troops of *Savoy* with a great deal of vigour, these defended themselves with an extream Courage; so that *Don Pedro* had no great Cause to boast that he had obtained any considerable advantage over them, for the loss was almost equal on both sides. The Duke of *Savoy* performed upon this occasion (as he commonly did) all that could be expected from a brave Souldier and a good General. When the Governour of *Milan* did seem to watch for an opportunity to come to an Engagement, *Charles Emanuel* appeared as eager for it as himself. He refused to hearken to the prudent Counsels of the Marquess *de Bethune*, who wisely represented to him, that the loss of a Battel was no irreparable damage to a King of *Spain*, but that it might entirely, without remedy, ruin the affairs

Bethune and Of a Duke of Savoy.

Ludovisio made now Cardinal, resume the Negociation of the Peace, and the Governour of Milan haughtily breaks it off.

King *Lemis* then resolved to call home his Extraordinary Ambassador; for his Majesty did not think that the Minister of a King of *France* could anylonger continue in *Italy* with Honour, since both Parties were entered into an open War, and the Spaniards had not at all regarded the ad-

advances his Majesty had made towards procuring a Peace. The Marquis de Bethune very judiciously represented to the King, that in case his Majesty should re-call him, it would be construed, as if he had a design to forsake his Allies, at a time when they seem'd most to stand in need of him ; and the World would imagin, that France was so much embroiled at home, that they could no longer interpose in the Affairs abroad, and that the Spaniards would mightily triumph in their having hindered his Majesty from taking notice of what was transacted in a Country, where he had no Dominions himself. *This is not the first time, said the Ambassador, that Negotiations have been broke off, to begin a Bloody War, even in presence of the Mediators.* So soon as the first heat of the two Parties shall be over, we will resume the Negotiations of the Treaty. The Gouvernour of Milan, and the Duke of Savoy, will come again to themselves when they are a little cooler, and then will begin to consider, the doubtful success of a War, into which they have thrown themselves with so much precipitation, and will more seriously reflect upon the Terms that have already been proposed them, and upon those new offers that we shall make them.

Bethune and Ludovicus, whom the Pope had lately made Cardinal, to give the Minister of the Holy See yet more Authority, renewed more earnestly their solicitations

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licitations for Peace, so soon as they thought *Don Pedro* (who had fallen short of his mighty hopes all at once to crush the Duke of *Savoy*) might possibly become more sensible of his rashness, and would hearken to reason. The two Mediators went again to make some fresh proposals to them. And as *Charles Emanuel* acted then in concert with the Republick of *Venice*, so they found more Reason and more Regularity in the proceedings of his Highness. And being better advised by able and judicious Politicians, he submitted himself to the reasonable conditions the Mediators proposed to him: And all the steps of the Duke of *Savoy* were so well taken, that *France* could not with Honour deny the receiving him into her protection, if the Court of *Madrid* should refuse sincerely to perform the Treaty of *Ast*. Wherefore the Ambassador of *France*, and the new Cardinal having delivered to *Don Pedro* a project of an Agreement accepted of by *Charles Emanuel*, the *Spaniard* answered in a haughty manner, that it was easie to perceive the Court of *Madrid* had resolved intirely to break the Treaty of *Ast*, as being dishonourable to the King of *Spain*, and to force the Duke of *Savoy* to content himself with such a new Treaty, as they would prescribe to him, and absolutely to shut out the *Venetians* from the Negotiation, that so the Republick might remain single to

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to defend himself against the Arch-*Duke* of *Gratz*, and the King of *Spain* who was resolved to protect his near Relation. *Charles Emanuel* immediately delivered into the hands of the Mediators a reply to *Don Pedro's* Writing. It was so very reasonable, that the Gover-*nour* of *Milan*, having no solid Arguments wherewith to oppose it, fell to calling both God and the World to witness, that what the Duke of *Savoy* had set forth was false; and he protested that he would hearken to no further Pro-*posals*. *Had not the respect due to the Pope*, said he, *and the consideration that the King my Master bath for the King of France*, *stopt me*, *I should have torn in pieces in the presence of the Mediators*, *the Writing which they had delivered to me as from the Duke of Savoy*.

James, King of *Great Britain*, was *Vittorio Siri* one of the *Guarantees* of the *Treaty of* *Algiers*. Yet, however, he did but very coldly interest himself in this new Af-*fair*. His *Majesty* seemed to have abso-*lutely* forgot the great offers he had made to the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Common-wealth* of *Verice*. For being governed by his *Favourites*, whom the *Court* of *Madrid* had gained over to their party, King *James* had resolved to keep a good correspondence with his *Catholick Ma-*jesty**, and would act no further than by exhorting the two contending Parties to *Peace*. However, the *Hostilities* went

*Memorie re-
condit: Tom.
iii. p. 538,
539, 540.
564, 565.*

1616.

on every day with greater vigour, since the time that *Don Pedro de Toledo* had so arrogantly broke off the Negotiation. *Montferrate* was equally laid waste, both by the *Savoyards* who were entered into it, and by the *Spaniards* who pretended to defend it. *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Mantua*, was not much concerned at the desolation of a fine and delicate Country, Hereditary to the House of *Gonzague*. He had lately married *Catherine de Medicis*, Prince of *Tuscany*, and the pleasures of his Marriage made him forget that the utter ruin of that part of his Territories, which was become the Thea-
ter of the War, would be shortly compleated. *Ferdinand* thought it a very great performance for himself to go to *Cazal*, to provide for the security of that most important place of *Montferrate*. But the bad weather generally coming on towards the latter end of Autumn, and the Indisposition of the Duke of *Savoy* and the Governor of *Milan*, who both fell sick much at the same time, obliged them to quit the Field, and to send their Armies to their several Winter Quarters.

*A new Catal
at the Court of
France a-
gainst the
Marechal d'
Ancre.*

The King of *France* also not very long after fell dangerously ill. His sickness proceeded from an extraordinary swoon which seized him on the first of November, and his Fits grew so strong upon him, that his Physicians almost despair'd of his Life. The news of this accident

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dent having been brought to *Soissons* and other places, the Duke *de Mayenne* and the other Lords seemed very much afflicted at it. The Cardinal *de Guise*, who had lately joyned himself with *Luines*, with a design to ruin the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, caused to be insinuated to his Majesty, that the Lords who were retired from the Court, were extremely concerned for the ilneis that had so suddenly falm upon him. King *Lewis* took it very kindly of them. He began to be weary of being under the Guardianship of *Mary de Medicis*. During his sickness, they were labouring hard to remove him from the Queen-Mother, so soon as his health would permit it, and to go to *Compiegne*. *Luines*, and the Enemies of *Conchini*, were often representing to the young King, that all the discontented Lords would immediately come to Court and wait on his Majesty, so soon as they should not find about his Royal person an arrogant Foreigner, into whose hands the Queen-Mother was resolved to commit the whole management of Affairs. *Mayenne* and his Party having been exactly informed by *Gevres*, that there was a new and powerful Cabal on foot against *Conchini*, wrote to the Cardinal *de Guise*, to joyn himself closely with *Luines* in his Intrigue, and to engage him to ruin a man that would never suffer him to reap any benefit by the King's favour.

*Memoires of
the Regency of
Mary de Me-
dicis.*

1616.

There was no need of using many arguments upon this Topick to perwade *Luines*. He was not ignorant that the Fortune of *Conchini* would always be an invincible obstacle to the advancing of his own. The King never had loved the *Italian*; and he still loved him less, since the imprisonment of the Prince of *Conde*. The *Mareschal d' Ancre* being returned to Court, quickly perceived that his Majesty's kindness towards him was mightily abated. He was afraid that *Luines* instead of serving him, as he had expected at first, was become his secret Enemy, and that this growing Favourite might have a design to undo him, and then to employ himself about something else that was more important and serious than downright Hunting and Hawking. *M. de Luines*, said *Conchini* one day to him with an angry frowning look, and in his broken Language, *The King looks upon me with an evil Eye, but you shall be answerable for it*. This was sufficient to make *Luines* sensible, that he was in danger of being undone, unless he could prevent that misfortune, by effectually bringing about the ruin of the *Mareschal d' Ancre*. Therefore he endeavoured by all the ways he could think of, to encrease the aversion which his Master had already conceived against him; and he so well succeeded in this his design, that King *Lewis*, prejudiced more than ever against *Conchini*, declared that it would

*Additions to
the Memoirs
of Chastelnau.
Tom. ii. pag.
547.*

would be a great satisfaction to him, if the Lords, who had forsaken the Court, would continue to be well united together, and never to be reconciled to the Mareschal *d'Ancre*. *Luines* immediately took care to inform them how his Majesty stood affected, and if they would now insist in their desires, that the Mareschal *d'Ancre* might be removed, they might at the same time give the young King a very fair opportunity, notwithstanding all the power of *Mary de Medicis* to rid himself of a man that had caused the Insurrection of all the Lords of the Kingdom.

Conchini on his part endeavoured all he could to make his power higher than ever. The Queen Mother had resolved by his solicitations to make great alterations in the Ministry; besides, the old discontents they had against the Keeper of the Seal, because of his too austere Virtue, they suspected him of being entered into the Intreague of those who were resolved if possible to remove the Mareschal *d'Ancre* from Court. The

strict union of that Magistrate with *Luines*, made things appear very likely. Whereupon the Seals were taken from *Du Vair* and given to *Mangot*, who from a first President at the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, was become a Secretary of State: And six months after made Keeper of the

The Seals are taken away from Du Vair and given to Mangot.

Richelieu Bishop of Lucon is made Secretary of State, and Barbin Comptroller General of the Finances.

Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.

1616. dissatisfied to see a Magistrate of such an extraordinary Reputation and Merit, to be turned out only to make room for an unworthy Creature of *Conchini*. *Du Vair* bore his disgrace with a magnanimity that was no way suspected of affectation. The World knew well enough that he had never made his Court for that eminent Dignity of the Long Robe. Contented with the re-establishing of good Order and Peace in *Provence*, (where he was first President) and administering Justice there with an Integrity which was very rare and peculiar to him in that corrupted Age, he had never troubled his head about advancing his Interest at the Court; but was called thither against his own Will; and when he was preferred to a considerable place, he scorned to keep himself in it by flattery and a base compliance to an imprudent Queen, and a proud and covetous Favourite. Before the Letters Patents of *Mangot* were Registered, the Parliament of *Paris* deputed two Councillours to *Du Vair*, to enquire of him whether he had voluntarily delivered up the Seals, or whether the King had taken them from him. He answered them with a great deal of Prudence and Moderation, by commanding the Successor that was named to succeed him, and plainly declared, that he saw his integrity and probity were not agreeable to the Relish of those who pretended to govern the Kingdom.

Gramen. I.
Histor. Gal-
lie. I. ii.
Mercure
Francois
1616.

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The People saw likewise with no less 1616. indignation a Bishop advanced to a place Mercure
Francois
1616. of Secretary of War. The disaffected Memoirs to
serve for the
History of Car-
dinal de Rich-
elieu, Tom. i. Lords said with a great deal of reason, that it was contrary to the Canons and the Regency of
Mary de Me-
dicis. Constitutions of the Church. *Although* Memoirs of *in these last Ages*, as it is judiciously ob- served by one of their Party, *Bishops have* bad a great share in the management of *publick Affairs, and particularly in Ne-* dicia. *gociations both at home and abroad*; yet however it was a thing without Precedent *that a Prelate should take upon him the place* of a *Secretary of State, the chief functions* whereof concerned the *Affairs of War.* But *Richelieu*, Bishop of *Lucon*, was grown quite tired with reading of *Holy Books*, and the *Fathers of the Church*, and therefore let even as it pleased the *World talk.* He had mightily solicited for an employment, which was fitter to enter him further into *publick Affairs of State, and to satisfie his boundless Ambition, than that of Great Almoner to the Queen.* Some say that he did not possess it long, without giving great uneasines and jealousie to *Conchim*, who was his first Patron. The Bishop was on the 30th of *November* provide^d with a Place, which seemed to him infinite by more noble and advantageous than that of watching after the *Salvation of Souls.* The *Episcopal Character* was of some good use and service to him upon

1616. this occasion. By his Ecclesiastical Dignity, he obtained the first place over the other Secretaries of State, and the favour of *Mary de Medicis* gave him still more Credit and Authority. He was very well skilled in the Art of making his own advantage of what was both Sacred and Prophane. The Colleagues of the Prelate murmured not a little at a distinction of Honour, which his Character did not allow him to take in the King's Council; besides, he had in some measure renounced it by forsaking the *Heavenly Militia*, to embrace that of this World. But these sort of Gentlemen are not able to withstand the positive orders of their Sovereign; where they Command, their Duty obliges them to obey. *Barbin*, who from a petty Farmer of the King's Revenues, was become by the favour of *Conchini*, Intendant to the Queen Mother, was now made Comptroller General of the *Finances*, in the room of President *Jeannin*. They resolved to have no Minister that should be too able or too much skilled in Affairs

The Arrivées and Negotiations, that was by no means agreeable to *Conchini*, who designed by *Marechal d'Ancre*, and late all matters relating to Politick Government, War, and the *Finances*.

Deageant, first Commissioner to the new Comptroller General, was one of the stration of great Instruments *Luines* made use of

Mémoires de Rohan. l. i.

IX.
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of to determine the King to remove the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, and by an unavoidable consequence to ruin *Barbin* himself. This *Deageant*, who was a witty man, but crafty, enterprizing and ambitious to the highest degree, had been gained by the King's Favourite, that had promised him very great preferment, provided he would act before King *Lewis* the part of a man, whose Honour and Conscience obliged him to discover to his Majesty the secret designs of the Queen Mother and the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, which were all communicated to *Barbin*, their most intimate Confident, and Master to *Deageant*. The Duke *de Rohan* in his *Memoirs* gives us a good Picture of *Lewis XIII.* when he was between fifteen and sixteen years of age, at which time *Luines* insinuated himself more than ever into his mind by the pleasures of hunting and his great assiduity. He was a Prince singular in his ways, and jealous of his Authority, which yet he did not know; and more inclined to believe bad than good reports. It was therefore no difficult matter to perswade him that the Mareschal *d' Ancre* was attempting to obtain the whole Authority to himself, to the prejudice of the King, and that the Queen Mother gave her helping hand, that so she might govern as she had done during his Minority. The great favour of the Mareschal had made him extreamly insolent, and the Queen

1616. discovered too plainly and openly the contempt she had for a young Son that was uncapable of governing his Kingdom. *Lewis* being in this disposition, greedily swallowed whatever *Deageant* (directed by *Luines*) related to him every night, concerning the pretended designs of *Mary de Medicis* and *Conckini*. Nor did *Deageant* forget to assure the King, that he had this secret from *Barbin* his Master, who entrusted him with it. He tells us himself one of the Artifices *Luines* made use of the better to prejudice the King, and to excite him still the more to press for the removal of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*; and it is a pleasure to me to tell it, for it shews us how easily a weak and superstitious Prince may be put upon; and there are but too many of that Character. How great soever the superiority of that Genius may be, which the flatterers of the French Academy ascribe to the Son of him, of whom I am now speaking, I shall make bold to say without fear, that in an age much more adroit and refined than that of his Father, was a Father Confessor, and a certain dissembling and bigotted Lady have often put upon him, by as childish and as ridiculous Artifices, as that we are now speaking of: But to return.

Deageant came one night to the King, with an extraordinary earnestness. He had in his hands a Packer of three Letters, whereof one was directed to the Queen

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Mother, the other to the disaffected
Lords, and the third to *Deageant*. No
doubt but that by the account he gives
us, he himself was that private person,
whose name he desires to keep unknown,
through an I know not what sort of af-
fected modesty. But in truth, he was
afraid that his Imposture should be dis-
covered too plainly. The three Letters
were written without either Date or
Superscription, and the Style was well
enough; only it was said, some few
words smelt too much of the Cloyster:
But that was done on purpose. The
Writer was introduced speaking like an
inspired man. He exhorted, he threat-
ened as from God. And the whole de-
sign was to bring King *Lewis* and the
Queen his Mother to believe, that these
Letters were written by some good Reli-
gious man, favoured with the most inti-
mate Revelations of God Almighty. The
two Letters directed to the Queen Mo-
ther, and the Lords withdrawn to *Soif-
fons*, contained several very sound and
cogent arguments, enforced with several
Texts out of the Holy Scripture; and
some Examples taken from prophane
History. The cheat was visible enough
to all that had eyes. This Prophetical
Language, intermixt with matters taken
out of *Pagan* Authors, was something
too oddly and too ridiculous affected.
None but a Child could be caught by
it.

*Memories of
Deageant: P.
27, 28, 29.
&c.*

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The History of Book IX.

The Letter written to *Deageant*, or (let us say rather if you please) that which he wrote to himself, enjoyned him under pain of drawing down upon his head all the wrath of Heaven, where-with he was threatened by the pretended Prophet, to cause the Letter directed to the Lords to be sent to them by the iapest ways he could possibly find out ; to deliver the other into *Mary de Medicis*'s own hands, and most humbly to beseech her Majesty to read it in private, to take into her most serious consideration the importance thereof, not to communicate it to any body, but especially not to acquaint the person that was most particularly concerned in it, *viz.* the *Marechal d'Ancre* ; and lastly, to deliver it again to *Deageant* after her Majesty had perused it. How gross and impertinent was all this contrivance ! And yet notwithstanding, it was as fine a Machine as any that was made use of in that Tragedy, the Catastrophe whereof proved so fatal to *Conchini* and *Galigai* his Wife.

In the Letter written to the Lords retired to *Soissons*, the Man of God did endeavour to convince them by very weighty Reasons, that they had unjustly taken up Arms, that the Strength of the Kingdom would be weakened by their Civil War, which would give an opportunity to the Enemies of *France* in the mean while to make some attempts

against the Interests of the Crown; that the Revolt of the discontented Party would afford pretences and means to the Reformed, for the advancing of their own Affairs, to the prejudice both of the State and the Catholick Religion. *If these considerations are not capable of bringing you to reflect upon your selves, said they to the Lords, let at least the Interest of Self-preservation put a stop to your further proceedings. You will all involve your selves in the ruin of your unjust Rebellion. God takes a particular care of the King's person, and promises a great prosperity to a Prince, whose Candour and Innocence are agreeable to him.* Luines did presently insinuate to his simple and credulous Master, that it was not convenient to send the Letter to *Soissons*: And indeed it would not have had much effect upon the Dukes de *Mayenne*, *Nevers* and *Vendome*. Persons of the first quality are but indifferently devout, and commonly laugh at such things; for they account them but as impertinent idle Stories, or Artifices fit to deceive foolish people. The Letter was wrote but to an Infant King, and one without Experience. They designed to make him apprehensive, that the Civil War occasioned by the ambition of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, was ruinous to *France*, and gave an opportunity to the *Spaniards* to oppress the Duke of *Savoy*, and the other Allies of the Crown, and that

that if the Reformed, provoked by the attempt of the Duke *d' Epernon* upon *Roche*, should come to fall into the discontented Party, as they had done already, his Majesty would at last be obliged to grant them some more advantageous conditions, than those they had obtained by the Treaty of *London*. *Descent* did not insist that the Letter should be sent, neither did he represent what punishment the Prophet had threatened him with, in case he would not obey his Orders. The Cheat knew too well that the Author had not been inspired by God.

The Letter written to the Queen Mother, was quite otherwise represented to King *Lewis*. For *Luines* was in hopes that the superstitious *Mary de Medicis* would fall into the Snare, and that the fear of the Devil, wherewith she was threatened, would force her to consent to the betrayal of the *Mareschal d' Ancre* and his Wife. The unknown Saint represented to her Majesty, how little care she had taken to acknowledge the extraordinary favours wherewith God had blessed her, what contempt she had shewn to the wholesome admonitions that had been given her long since, and her inconsiderate and criminal compliance to the Councils of certain persons, who had no other designs but to raise their own Fortunes on the ruins of the State, and of the Queen Mother herself, whom

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whom those very persons betrayed. Their names were not set down in the Letter, but *Conchini* and *Galigai* were both so plainly described therein, that it was impossible for any man to mistake them. The Writer represented also several abuses committed in the administration of Affairs, the disorders they had caused, and the great calamities that would infallibly attend them, unless they were speedily and effectually remedied. Those Remedies were also set forth, which they judged most necessary to procure that effect. And the better to carry on the cheat, by making *Mary de Medicis* believe, that this wholesome admonition came from some good and holy Friar, who lay concealed in the bosom of a Cloyster, they advised her Majesty to augment her Acts of Devotion, to be more fervent in good Works, to cause Prayers to be frequently performed, and especially in the Churches of *Paris*, to order Children of twelve years old and under, to be bred up to the Habit of it, and endeavour to appease the wrath of God, by lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and to make them walk most devoutly in their publick and solemn Processions: In a word, to take care that the Holy Sacrament might be better and more decently administered in all Market Towns and Villages of the Kingdom. If you perform these things, *Madam*, said *Deageant*

unto

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unto her in a style wonderfully wrought up, according to the tenour of these new Prophets, Your Majesty will doubtless escape the misfortunes your Royal person is threatened with. But if you neglect the advices I give you as from God, you will quickly feel the terrible effects of his wrath, so justly incensed against you. But, above all, Madam, take into your special consideration, what I have told you concerning the Holy Sacrament. 'Tis the surest means to bring down the choicest Blessings from Heaven upon you and upon all France. How ridiculous soever this seems to be, yet it was well enough managed to shake and disturb the mind of a Woman, who was timorous, ignorant, and most superstitiously bigotted.

There were two other Remedies still more convenient for carrying on the secret designs of the contrivers of this pleasant Comedy, than the Pious Deeds which were proposed to *Mary de Medicis*. They also advertised her, that it was God's Will and Pleasure, that she should without any further delay, deliver the administration of the Government into the hands of her Son. 'Tis a thing that the King most earnestly desires, tho he does not discover it, said they to the Queen Mother. If your Majesty refuses to obey the Command of Heaven, you will run your self headlong into extreme Misfortunes and Calamities. There are Insurrections already raised almost in all parts

of the Kingdom, under pretence that they deprived the King of the knowledge how the publick Affairs were managed. Take heed, Madam, that you do not by any other measures, utterly confound and ruin all things.

The third and last Remedy, was to send back again into Italy, Conchini and his Wife, those two Subjects of a general scandal, were the occasion of a universal discontent in the Kingdom, and caused both the Lords and Common People to rise and stand up in Arms in their own defence. The pretended Interpreter of the Orders from Heaven, endeavoured to soften the Grief that so great a severity must needs procure to the good Queen, and gave her leave to let the Mareschal *d' Ancre* and his Wife, not only enjoy their great Possessions, but also to make them some new gratifications, provided they would quit the Kingdom, and go some where else and enjoy the good Fortune they had luckily made within less than seven years.

If your Majesty continues any longer obstinate in your Resolution of keeping them, added he to Mary de Medicis, you will have the mortification of seeing them miserably to perish, and feel the effects of the threatenings God has now made to you by my Ministry. The Son will be against his Mother, and the Mother against her Son, to the ruin of France, and the peril of Religion throughout all Europe. But if you hearken

1616. bearken as becomes you, to my wholesome Admonitions, I will discover my self more particularly to your Majesty, and direct you to the most easie and most convenient methods, to put in execution what God prescribes unto you. The success will be infinitely beyond the expectations of the most penetrating and judicious Politicians.

This was only said the more cunningly and disquietly to carry on their game. The Prophet was not inspired, but yet was very sure of what he foretold : he was himself one of the Cabal engaged to ruin *Conchini*, to get the young King off from the Power his Mother had taken over him, and to send her away far enough off from Court, so soon as ever the Marshal d' *Andre* and his Wife should be destroyed. And as they had obtained the Banishment of the Queen Mother, so they resolved to remove all fears and apprehensions from the scrupulous and wavering mind of King *Lewis*, by representing to him, that nothing had happened but what was agreeable to the orders of God, and the threatenings denounced as from him to *Mary de Medicis*.

Deageant agreed with the King and *Luines* his Favourite, to go and inform with all the privacy in the World the Queen Mother, that he had a Paper of great moment to deliver to her, which he begged she would please to keep very secret. *Mary de Medicis* bid *Deageant*

to

to wait on her with it a little before Supper, when she would retire alone into her private Closet. He had read but one part of the Letter to her, when the King came to visit his Mother. This unexpected coming in of his Majesty, was a very good pretence for *Mary de Medicis* to keep the Letter. *I will make an end of reading it*, said she, *when I go to Bed, and then will take it into serious consideration.* Her Majesty did not think she should break her promise of secrecy, in shewing this Letter to her Father Confessor, and *Galigai* her Confident, for them to read it. They immediately suspected it for a Trick and Cheat, and the Queen was quickly cured of the scruples and fears they had designed to put into her head. But the poor blind Princess did not in the least perceive that her Son was in the Intrigue, and that he had resolved to fulfil the Prophecies. He being discontented to the last degree, at the manner wherewith his Mother did govern him, and at the little respect they paid to his person, in not suffering him to be concerned in any publick Affairs; I say, he being thus disatisfied, commanded *Deageant* to pres *Mary de Medicis* seriously to reflect upon the Letter which had been delivered to her. *Luisines* made the young King (who was susceptible of all the Impressions they had a mind to make upon him) apprehensive, that God would himself punish him, if he

1616. he should neglect to perform what the Sovereign Majesty had been pleased to declare to him by the mouth of one of his Servants. The Queen Mother and her Confidents went on laughing at all these ridiculous Follies, but it was not with the King. The thing appeared to him so much the more serious, as was agreeable to his present temper and design of putting an end in good earnest to the disorders of the Kingdom, by the removal of the Mareschal *d'Ancre* and his Wife. Many Conferences were held in his presence, about the best methods to be used to effect this their design, and to take from the Queen-Mother the Administration of Affairs, which King *Lewis* resolved now to take into his own hands at the suggestion of his Favourite, who designed to govern himself, but only to make use of the name of the King.

*The Duke of Savoy pre-vails upon the Mareschal de Lessdiguières, this year, and the beginning of that following. Luines left no Stone unturned on his part, he made use of Pious Fraud, and the common Artifices of Courtiers, to ruin the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, and engage young King *Lewis* at least to make a new, as if he was resolved hereafter to govern by himself. Conchini and his Creatures, *Mangot*, *Richelieu* and *Barbin*, were as hard at work on their side, the former with a design to increase his own*

own Cabal thers, were *d'An* their *May* *Mare* *Coen* next and too, were their in d For wit to dec else firs Par bu wcf va the ma sh of R co A v

own Authority, or to ruin the several Cabals formed against him; and the others, to secure their Fortunes, which were at present fixed to that of Mareschal *d' Ancre*, who had promoted them to their Respective Offices. The Dukes *de Mayenne*, *Nevers* and *Vendome*, the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, the Marquess *de Coevres*, resolved to take up Arms the next Spring in *Picardy* and *Champagne*, and to make some other Provinces rise too, if possible. These Gentlemen, I say, were all mighty busie in carrying on their several Negotiations at the Court, in divers places of the Kingdom, and in Foreign Countries too; here to be assisted with Arms, Money and Men, and there to engage their Friends and Tenants to declare themselves in their favour, and elsewhere, to oblige other persons of the first Rank to joyn themselves to their Party: for indeed, they questioned not but the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, their Enemy, would send against them the best Troops of the Kingdom. They had already advanced themselves into *Champagne*, and the Officers quartered them in such a manner, that seemed as if they would shortly invest *Bouillon* in his Principality of *Sedan*, and *Nevers* in his Dutchy of *Rherclois*.

There was likewise another Intrigue contrived by the Duke *de Monteleon*, Ambassador from the Catholick King, with the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, and some

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
conde Tom.
iii. pag. 566,
567. Histoire
du Connec-
table de Lefsi-
guieres. L. 8.
chap. 12.

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Ministers that were Pensioners of *Spain*. The Duke *de Guise* was come into it, through the necessary consequences of those Engagements he had taken with the Duke *de Nemours* his Kinsman, whose agreement with the Duke of *Savoy* was disliked by him as well as by the *Spaniards*, having been in their opinion too hastily concluded. *Monteleon's* design by this Intrigue was, to hinder the Court of *France* from asserting the right she had gained by the Treaty of *Ast*, of obliging the King of *Spain* to disband his Forces in *Italy*, and engage *Mary de Medicis* to force *Charles Emanuel* humbly to accept of the Conditions which the Court of *Madrid* should prescribe to him. This *Spanish* Minister had effected his point by his good Address, and perhaps by some lucky Pistoles which he had taken mighty good care to dispose of into proper hands. There was but one thing that perplexed him, *viz.* that the King of *France* had by the seventh Article of the Treaty of *Ast*, permitted the Mareschal *de Lefdiguieres*, and the Governors of the Provinces adjoining to the Duke of *Savoy's* Country, to assist him forthwith, without waiting for any new orders from the Court, provided the King of *Spain* stood off, and would not perform what he had promised the French King by the above-said Treaty. The Ministers of his Catholick Majesty in *Italy*, being therefore resolved to abolish

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lish the memory of a Peace that was so shameful to their Master, they were terribly afraid that the Mareschal de *Lesdiguieres*, prevailed upon by the Duke of *Savoy*, would bring a powerful Succour to his Highness, having got such an express Article from the King by that solemn Treaty, to justify his so doing. And this the *Spanish* Ambassador was labouring by all his Skill and Address to prevent. And here we shall see perhaps the most extraordinary and surprizing turn that can be met with in the Modern History of *France*. An Officer of the Crown, Lieutenant General in *Dauphiny*, causing a small Army to pass the *Alps*, against the express and repeated Orders of the King, to the Succour of a Prince Allied to the Crown, whom *Spain* had resolved to oppress, and return triumphing into *France*, after he had obtained great advantages over the Governor of *Milan*. Happy *Lesdiguieres*, if at his return from this glorious Expedition, he had not blasted his own Reputation, by a base and infamous Marriage with his *Maria Vignon*!

Charles Emanuel had taken care with great summs of Money, to gain over this Woman to his Interest, who he knew could do any thing she pleased with her old Lover, that doted on her to the last degree of folly. So soon as the Duke of *Savoy* thought himself sure of *Lesdiguieres*,

1616. res, he wrote a very civil and obliging Letter, to desire his *Trusty Friend, and good Neighbour*, (for so his Highness stiled the Mareschal) to perform the promises he had several times made him, to assist him with the Forces of the *French King*, in case the *Governour of Milan* should refuse to execute what his Catholick Majesty had promised by the Treaty of *Ast*, of which King *Lewis* had made himself Mediator and Guarantee. *Lesdiguières* found himself mightily embarrassed. The intestine troubles where-with *France* was embroiled since the Imprisonment of the *Prince de Conde*, gave *Mary de Medicis* an opportunity to forbid the raising of any Souldiers to be carried out of the Kingdom. So that when the Mareschal pressed the Court hard to protect the *Duke of Savoy*, who was in danger of losing his Country, the good Offices he designed to do to *Charles Emanuel*, met with a bad Reception from the Queen Mother. Though she did not openly discover her self, yet her Majesty made it plain enough to be understood, that she would take it very ill, if *Lesdiguières* offered to Succour the *Duke of Savoy*. The consideration this imprudent Princess shewed for the *King of Spain*, whom she was resolved to serve at any rate whatsoever, made her over-look the indispensible necessity of supporting the Honour of *France*, protecting the Allies of the Crown, and opposing

posing the growing Power of the House of *Austria* in *Italy*. Being thus prepossessed by her evil Counsellours, and the Duke de *Monteleon*, the Queen Mother did not perceive that these false steps she took, gave occasion to her secret Enemies, and those of *Conchini*, to be continually insinuating into the King, the evil administration of Affairs, and to encourage him the more in his Resolution, of taking upon himself the Government of the Kingdom.

An Express dispatched by *Leslignieres*, brought to Court the new Instance the Duke of *Savoy* had made to the Mareschal. He desired therefore in his name, that he might have leave to perform what he had promised by order of their Majesties, or else some publick and authentick Instrument, to excuse him from doing what they had so solemnly engaged him to pass his word for. This Express was very much disliked at Court, and after the man sent by *Leslignieres* had waited several days for the King's answer, they told him without any more ado, that the design of their Majesties was directly contrary to the desire of his Master; and they were so far from consenting that he should march to the assistance of *Piemon*, that they caused a new Declaration to be published, forbidding to raise men for the service of the War, under pain of being found guilty of High Treason. The Caresses and Entreaties of *Marie*

1616. *Vignen*, did work more effectually upon *Lesdiguières*, than the repeated Orders and down-right Menaces of *Mary de Medicis*. He did not fear the anger of a Woman, who was so much taken up about defending herself against the Party of the Lords retired to *Soissons*. The number of the discontented Subjects was already too great, and *Conchini* ought to be afraid of the encrease of it. In short, the opportunity of obtaining Glory and a greater Reputation in *Europe*, and withdrawal, to get a good round summ of Money, was too fair to be withheld; and *Lesdiguières* did not think he ought to let it slip. He had an Interview with the Prince of *Piemont*, and they concerted together all things necessary for the marching of the Troops, which the Mareschal promised to Conduct himself forthwith to *Charles Emanuel*.

*The Arrivales
of the Court
of France and
the Spaniards
to hinder Les-
diguières
from carrying
any Succours
to the Duke
of Savoy.*

This Interview fully convinced the World, that *Lesdiguières* was in good earnest for engaging himself with his Highness. The Duke de *Montecon*, Ambassador from *Spain*, whose Councils the Queen Mother blindly followed in this Affair, (and perhaps in several others) advised her Majesty, that it was by all means requisite for her to find out some pretence for calling home the Mareschal to Court, and that by flattering his Ambition, it might perhaps be an easie matter to make him alter the Resolution he had taken of going into *Piemont*. This Ex-

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Expedient pleased extremely, and *Mary de Medicis* re-called to her mind, how earnest he had formerly been to obtain the Title of Duke and Peer of *France* in the Parliament of *Paris*. Her Majesty therefore caused a Letter to be wrote to him, to acquaint him, that the King her Son having a design to honour some Lords with that eminent Dignity, had this notice given him, speedily to come and have the usual Oath administered to him, and take his Place in the Parliament, according to the Date of the King's Writ, which his Majesty had caused to be drawn up for him some years ago. A man of much less discernment than the Mareschal, might easily have perceived the share that was laid for him. *I do accept with most profound acknowledgment, answered he, this Token of distinction and bounty, wherewith the King is pleased to honour me: But the opportunities of serving his Majesty must and shall be always dearer to me than those of obtaining the first Dignities of the State.* I ought first to go into *Piemont*, to perform what your Majesties have promised to his Highness the Duke of *Savoy*, that so he may have no occasion to complain that France leaves him to the discretion of the Spaniards, in breach of that Faith given him at a solemn Treaty. The King's Honour is extremely concerned therin, and I should be the most ungrateful of all men, if I should not prefer that to the greatest advantages

1616. this World can afford me ; since therefore his Majesty has thought me worthy of being a Duke and Peer, I hope he will permit me to come and take my place in the Parliament, after I have given him a new proof of my zeal for the service of the King, and the Glory of the Crown. Some others will have a right to go before me : 'Tis no great matter. I do not concern my self much about those things, which at most can only satisfy the vain nicety of some persons of my Quality. Let others go before me if they please in Ceremony, I am contented, provided that no man in the World has the advantage to go before me, when any occasion shall offer itself with good effect to serve his Majesty. A Nobleman that Expresses himself with this Braveness and Elevation of Soul, ought to take care that the World should not be informed of the true motives of his most shining Actions. The pressing instances of a brib'd Mistress, the desire of enriching himself at the expence of the Duke of Savoy, and the Republic of Venice, the Passion of distinguishing himself from the rest of the Lords of France, at that time engaged in several Parties one against another. Did not these motives, I say, more prevail upon the Mareschal, than the desire of effectually serving a young King, who knew neither his real Honour, nor the pressing Interests of his Crown ? However it was, the Sentiments of *Lesdignieres* appeared to the World worthy of a great mind, but few men did believe them to be sincere.

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But here is still something more heroick in appearance. Whilſt the Mareſchal was drawing out of his Arsenal Weapons, wherewith to arm the Soldiers he had raised, a Gentleman of *Franche Comte* came to him with offers from the King of *Spain*, of ſuch ſumms of Money, as ſhould be ſufficient to raise an Army of forty thouſand Foot, to be employed in the Conquering of *Savoy*, the Investiture of which his Catholick Maſtrey promeſed to *Lesdiguiters*, provided he would aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in making them Maſters of *Piemont*. But this Artifice had been uſed before; and the Mareſchal was too penetrating and experienced to be caught by it. *I am very much obliged to the King of Spain*, anſwered he coldly. *His Maſtrey does me too great an Honour in thinking on me*. *The hopes of the brightest Crown in the World ſhould not be able to turn me*, when-ever my Duty calls me any where. *I am now marching to the aſſiſtance of his Highneſſe the Duke of Savoy*, againſt the intention and express orders of the Court. But upon ſome occasions we ought to diſobey our own Maſter, to ſerve him better according to his real Interests. This matter of Fact is reported as a certain truth. Let us receive it as ſuch; I conſent to it. But may not this Fact make us to queſtion the ſincerity of an ancient Roman's Virtue ſo much applauded in History? Per-haps the *Roman* perceived no more ſolidity

1616.

dity in the advantageous offers of *Pirhus*, than *Lesdiguières* did in those of *Philip*; such Rhodomontado's were out of season. The Marechal was too well acquainted with the present posture of Affairs in the *Spanish* Monarchy, to rely upon the promise they made him, to raise and maintain an Army of forty thousand men. The proceedings of the *Spaniards*, that had but a very little while before abandoned the Duke de *Nemours*, and whom they had deceived by the same proffers, did evidently discover their weakness. To rely upon the Forces of his Catholick Majesty, was to rely upon a broken Reed. Was this Soveraignty of *Savoy*, situate between the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, capable of tempting an experienced and judicious Warrier? The Settlement of *Lesdiguières* in *France* was better and infinitely more solid. 'Tis reported, that the Ambassador from *Spain* being mad at the immoralt constancy ~~on the Marechal~~, proposed still to the Queen Mother, to allure him to come to Court, with the promise to give him the Dignity of High Constable of *France*, or else to have him poisoned. If this alternative was really proposed, it was right worthy the principles of those Politicks that were left by *Ferdinand* the Catholick to his Children, and as well practised by *Philip* II.

Lef.

Lesdiguières, as high spirited, and of as intrepid courage as the famous General of the Carthaginians, was making his preparations to pass the Mountains by the middle of the Winter. His departure was fixed for the 19th of December. The King sent to him again new Orders, expressly forbidding him to raise Soldiers, and to carry them into Foreign Countries. But that did not stop him by no manner of means. *His Majesty*, said he smiling, *being prepossessed with the evil Counsels his Interested Ministers give him, does not perceive the importance of the service I design to do him. One day or other he will be obliged to me for my disobedience.*

Let us go however to the Parliament, and there let us cause the Orders the King sends us to be published. The Duty of my Place requires of us, that we should shew at least so much respect to the Sovereign's Authority. In this matter *Lesdiguières* contradicted all the parts of the Hero he had till then personated. At the very same time that the King's Injunctions, forbidding him to raise Soldiers for the service of the War, were published at the Parliament by the Order of *Lesdiguières*, the men whom he kept at his own pay, were marching with beat of Drum through the Streets of *Grenoble*. They passed under the Windows of the Parliament Chamber, and the Magistrates sitting upon the *Flowers-de-luce*, saw with indignation this great contempt of the King's

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The preparations of the Marechal de Lesdiguières to pass over into Piemont, notwithstanding the contrary Orders of the King, and the Remontrances of the Parliament of Grenoble.

Histoire du Comte de Lesdiguières. I. ix. c.

2.

1616. Authority. *Is he then come here, said some of them, with a design to insult even to our very faces, a Prince at present too weak to make himself be obeyed?*

The Parliament of *Grenoble* having a while after received Orders from the King, which enjoyned them to use all solemn and pressing Arguments with *Lesdiguières*, to divert him from that Expedition he was preparing himself for, with such a Haughtiness and Pride, that the Court was not able to suppress; the Assembly deputed to the Mareschal the first President, divers Councillours, and one of the King's Council, who came to him and made him a Speech, or rather an humble Remonstrance full of Respect and Zeal. What difference, Good God! between the great Lords of those times, whose History I am now writing, and those who live under the present Reign! A Letter under the Signet, what say I? A word from a Minister of State now makes them all to tremble. More cringing still than that unworthy *Roman* who lived in the time of *Tiberius*; they believe that the power of their King is unconfined, and that a blind obedience to the most unjust Commands, and most contrary to the publick Weal of the Kingdom, makes all the Glory and Distinction of an Officer of the Crown, a Peer of *France*, and a Prince of the Blood. How pleased am I to see that a simple Gentleman, honoured with the Battoon of Mareschal

reschal of *France*, has better understood both the rights of his own Dignity, and the lawful bounds of the Royal Authority which was set in opposition to him. *Lesdiguières* looked upon it as meritorious to disobey the express Orders of the Court, divers times repeated, and signified to him by the Parliament of the Province, because they appeared unjust to him, and contrary to the Royal Word the King had given to a Prince Allied to the Crown, and scandalous to the *French* Nation.

The first President most respectfully represented to the Mareschal, that it was of a dangerous consequence, for a man of his Quality and Reputation, to appear so openly to slight the Orders of the King; that his Expedition into *Piémont* might perhaps occasion a Rupture betwixt the two Crowns; that all *France* would lay to his charge the calamities a Foreign War is commonly attended with; that his presence was necessary in a Kingdom embroiled by the discontents of some great Lords. In short, that *Dauphiné* lay with an extreme affliction, a person so dear and precious to his Country, resolved to expose himself in so advanced an Age as his was, to the hardships of a laborious Journey, to the danger of besieging Places, and the hazard of Battels. The Mareschal very civilly answered the Deputies of the Parliament, that the late King had several times commanded him

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never to suffer the *Spaniards* to oppress the Duke of *Savoy*; that he was indispensably obliged to perform what the King and the Queen-Mother had solemnly promised to his Highness; that indeed his Journey into *Piemon* was against the Orders of the Court, but on the other hand he could not think himself obliged to comply with them, when an opportunity offered itself to perform a most important service to the King and Kingdom; that (thanks be to God) he enjoyed a perfect Health, and which had been inured to the greatest fatigues from his youth, and that he could easily undergo the hardships of a short Journey, and an Expedition that would not hold very long; and lastly, that he could not end his Life more gloriously than in serving his Prince, and that a man of his Profession ought to wish to dye in such an Action.

The Marechal de Leflignier marches to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy.

The Army of the Marechal was already marching when he received again more express injunctions than the former. But they were no less ineffectual. He was pleased to write to the King a Letter in the manner of an Apology, or Manifesto. *Leflignier* represented therein to his Majesty, how far his Interest obliged him to concern himself for the preservation of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the performance of the Treaty of *St. Germain*, to elude the promises of their King, and

and the way they took to reject all the Proposals of Peace made by the Marquess Histoire du
de B. thune, Ambassador Extraordinary
from France; I make bold to tell you, said
the Mareschal, that their proceedings is 1616.

Connetable
de Lesdigui-
eres. l. ix. c.

*very injurious to your Majesty, and that
your good Servants are highly offended at it.*

*I call God to witness, that the Insolence and
Perfidiousness of the Spaniards, have more
than any thing else determined my resolu-
tion of undertaking this Journey into Pie-
mont. I cannot endure that those Men
should remain unpunished, who have so con-
temptuously slighted your Authority, and
that under the pretence of a more ready per-
formance of the Treaty of Alt, they should
propose a new Treaty, wherein there is no
mention made of the Mediation of your
Majesty. The Spaniards are resolved to
make themselves the Sovereign Arbiters of
the Affairs of Italy, and to hinder your Al-
lies from giving you the least notice of it.
If Lesdiguières was not guilty of perjury,
in calling God to witness, that the Honour of the King, and the Interest of the
Crown, were the true and only motives
of this his undertaking, did ever any
Subject more honourably disobey his
Prince?*

He afterwards represented to King Lewis, the indispensable obligation his Majesty was under of protecting the Duke of Savoy. *I have taken the liberty
to beseech you to re-call to mind, Sir, pur-
sued the Mareschal, that neither the ele-
vation*

The History of Book IX.

uation of your Throne, nor the brightness of your Crown, can dispence with the Fidelity you owe to those who have contracted with you. Kings are as much as Subjects obliged to keep their promises. I will only be two monlhs absent from the Kingdom, and I hope your Majesty will be well pleased with me, for having removed from your Dominions, a Neighbour, whose Ambition would not be bounded by the ruin of the Duke of Savoy. 'Tis said, that I may perhaps occasion a Rupture betwixt the two Crowns. I most humbly beseech you, Sir, to rely upon the word I give you. All things shall be so well managed, that after I have brought the Gouvernour of Milan to be more tractable, by shewing him only the Arms of your Majesty, I will force him to give you satisfaction for the injury he has had the boldness to do you, and to bring him to be glad to consent atlast to the performance of the Treaty of Ast, of which you are the Guarantee. Things did not quite happen according to expectation of Lestiguières : He was obliged to go a second time to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy. However, the Marechal obtained at least the Glory of having brought down the Spanish Pride of Don Pedro de Toledo, making him sensible, that instead of oppressing Charles Emanuel, the King of Spain would be in danger of losing the Milanese himself, if France wold but once send their best Troops into Italy.

Laf

Lefdiguieres did set out the 19th of December, as he had designed. He had already sent before him about seven thousand Foot and five hundred Horse. A great number of old Officers and brave Gentlemen attended him in this Expedition, which kept *France* and *Italy* in a wonderful expectation. I will not give you here the particulars of the advantages that the Duke of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Piemont*, and the Mareschal, obtained in *Montferrat* and other places: But they took several of great importance; and the Prince *d' Ascoli*, and some other Officers of considerable note in the *Spanish* Army, very narrowly escaped, being all surprised in *Alba*. They had but just time to run away with their Troops and their Artillery, so that the Town was left to the discretion of the Duke of *Savoy*. The Gouvernour of *Milan*, reduced ever after to lie only upon the defensive, had recourse to his ordinary shifts. He pretended to be willing to hearken to the Peace, of which the Mediators offered to renew the Negotiation. By good fortune also for the *Spaniards*, *Crequi* came from the King of *France*, to press the Mareschal his Father-in-law forthwith to repass the Mountains. His presence seemed absolutely necessary in the Kingdom, by reason of the Civil War which was there breaking out in good earnest. *Charles-Emmanuel* used his utmost endeavours to keep *Lefdiguieres*

Advantages obtained in Italy, since the arrival of the Mareschal de Lefdiguieres. Histoire du Connétable de Lefdiguieres. t. ix. c. 4, &c 5.

1616.

diguières some time longer. But the King's Orders were too express, and the necessities of the Kingdom too apparent. The Mareschal set out from *Turin* the beginning of *April*, in the year 1617. The Duke of *Savoy* always contriving to gain to his Interest so good and powerful an Officer of the Crown of *France*, returned him his thanks in the most obliging manner he could possibly express. *The late Duke my Father*, said his High-

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite.
Tom. III.
pag. 566.

ness to him, left me his Dominions, but you have preserved them to me. Judge you, Sir, then what acknowledgments I ought to make for the good services you have done me. *Charles Emanuel* did not forget the good Offices of *Mary Vignon*. The world thought at last that he had prevailed with *Lesdiguières*, to venture upon the marrying that Wretch, that had murthured her first Husband.

1617.

Letters of the
Mareschal de
Bouillon to
the King.

Things and people's minds grew more and more exasperated at Court, and amongst the discontented Lords, at the time when the Mareschal de *Lesdiguières* was setting out for *Piamonte*. The Duke de *Nevers* was raising Soldiers in his Government and Lands. He made himself Master of the Towns of *Champagne*, that voluntarily received him, or were delivered up to him, and he put Garrisons into them. The Mareschal de *Bouillon* carried on his Intrigues in *Germany*, the *United Provinces*, and the *Country of Fries*: There he bought Arms and Ammunition

nition, and Mustered Scouldiers in his
own name. His Wife, under pre-
tence of going to *Turenne*, and some other
Territories belonging to her Husband,
was endeavouring to get him Friends in
several places, and to take off the evil im-
pressions the Reformed Party had taken
up against him since the Treaty of *Lon-
dun*. He was in hopes that he might get
the favour of those of his own Religion,
by spreading abroad that the Marquels
Spinola was treating about the pretensi-
ons of *la Mare Maulverier* over the So-
vereignty of *Sedan*, and that by virtue of
that purchase, *Spinola* would come and
set down before that Town, with all
the Forces of the Arch-Duke's of the
Catholick *Low Countries*. Madam *de
Bouillon* spoke of it as a certain truth, in
all places where she went, and seemed
much alarmed at it; she insinuated,
that if a speedy succour were not sent to
Sedan, (the preservation of which place
was of very great importance to the Re-
formed Party) the *Spaniards* would make
themselves Masters of it in a little time,
and that the *Mareschal d' Ancre* their
Pensionary, was ready to serve them in
that attempt. *Da Plessis Monnai*, and
other penetrating men, did not suffer
themselves to be caught by this trick and
artifice. They foresaw well enough
that the Arch-Dukes would not
venture upon such an undertaking, that
might occasion an open Rupture betwixt
the

1617.
Vie de M. du
Plessis Mor-
nai. l. iv.
Lettres &
Memoires du
meme. 1616.

1617. the two Crowns. How powerful soever the Mareschal d' *Ancre* might be at Court, yet they would never suffer a Stranger, dependant upon *Spain*, to take possession of a Sovereignty upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom. But this report was spread abroad, the better to cover the preparations of War the Mareschal de *Bouillon* was making at *Sedan*; and the raising of Souldiers that were brought him from several different places.

Mercure Fran-
cois. 1616.

The Queen Mother being well informed of the designs of the Mareschal, did not content herself with sending Troops into *Champagne*, she wrote also to the Resident of *France*, at *Bruxelles*, to obtain from the Arch-Dukes, that their Highnesses would be pleased to hinder the transporting of Arms and Ammunition, and the marching of Souldiers through their Territories to *Sedan*. *Bouillon* had written the 14th of December to the King, a Letter, wherein he complained of the Arch-Dukes, and the great number of men wherewith the places of his Majesty adjoining to *Sedan* were daily reinforced. Having represented to the King that those preparations looked as if there was a design on Foot to invest *Sedan*, the Mareschal desired his Majesty not to take it amiss, if in such a conjuncture he made use of the lawful means that Nature itself puts into the hands of every one, whenever there is a necessity to defend ones self, and to preserve their own

Est.

Fortunes and Estates. The King answered *Bouillon* the 27th of December. The Letter was pretty long, and in it his Majesty blamed the Mareschal for his Intrigues and Caballing, both within and out of the Kingdom, and gave him an account of the reasons why they had sent some Troops into that Province, where the Duke *de Nevers* and himself had openly discovered their design of cantoning themselves. In short, the King demanded of *Bouillon* to explain his meaning of the latter end of the Letter written to his Majesty. *The law-
ful ways you have of preserving your self,* said the King to the Mareschal, *are to address your self to me; 'tis from my protection that you ought to expect the preservation of what you enjoy through my Favour and Benevolence, to keep what you enjoy by the kindness of the late King my Lord and Father.* *This is paying me the Obedience that you owe.*

Bouillon was not long before he sent a Reply to the King's Answer. For on the 6th of January, in the year 1617, he wrote a long Letter to his Majesty, the substance of which was a justification of his Conduct ever since the Treaty of *Lou-
dun*; and if we will believe what he said, he was the most innocent man in the world. He meddled not with any Intrigues, either in or out of the Kingdom; his Carriage was upright and sincere, and he had no other designs than of paying his most faithful services to the King.

*Mercure
Francois
1617.*

This

1617. This last Article might be true in one sense. The labouring to get Conchini and his Creatures removed from the Administration of Affairs, was indeed to serve King Lewis most effectually, and according to his own inclination likewise. The Letters and Declarations which were published in the name of the young Prince, whom *Mary de Medicis* kept in perfect slavery, came forth against his mind, and he had no hand in them; for the Queen Mother and the Creatures of her Mareschal *d'Ancre*, managed all things in the Council. The Mareschal *de Bonillon* thought himself obliged at the conclusion of his Letter, to express himself more particularly as to what was demanded of him in the King's name. *Nature it self, says he, teaches us to defend our Estates and Fortunes, and to preserve them for our Children and Posterity. Oppressed Subjects ought first to have recourse to their Sovereign; for in truth, Kings are only set up to be the Nursing Fathers and Protectors of their People. He who is not a Subject, and has his Estate under the protection of a greater Prince, acts quite otherwise: When he is wrongfully attack'd, he immediately flies to the Sovereign that promised him protection, and in case he refuses to perform his promise, he makes use of the best means he can otherwise to oppose an unjust Violence by a just Defence.* I have the happiness, Sir, to be born your Subject, pursued the Mareschal, and I hope

hope your Majesty will be pleased to secure me in the possession of those Lands and Seignories which my Ancestors left me in France, and the marks of Honour and Distinction, that one of the most ancient Houses in your Kingdom, from which I am descended, has enjoyed for these several Ages. My Sovereignty of Sedan is in the protection of your Crown; and I cannot persuade my self that your Majesty is under any disposition to deprive me of that. But if the ill designs of my Enemies should extend so far as to make me lose the Honour of your Favour, and the Protection you have promised me; in this case, Sir, I believe that Nature allows me to defend my self from their Injuries, by making use of the Succour of my own Subjects, Relations and Friends, without incurring any blame for departing from my Duty to your Majesty as I am your Subject, and Lord of a ~~Seniory~~, wherewithal Kings your Predecessors have been pleased to take under the protection of their Crown. The style of this Letter of the Mareschal de Bonillon is very perplexed and intricate: By what he has left behind him of his own Writing, we are apt to think he had no mind to explain his meaning, with that neatness and delicate turn of thought, as is usual to persons of his quality. And I do not know but that he might affect to be somewhat mysterious upon so nice and critical an occasion as this was, with respect to him. However, almost every body understood well enough

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nough what he meant. His threatening to take up Arms, in case he was sensible that his Enemies were resolved to attack him in his Principality of *Sedan*, was (as we say) but too plain and intelligible. His Letter was looked upon as the first Manifesto of a Civil War, which was to begin soon after.

*Letters from
the Duke de Bouillon's Letter to
the King, and
from the King to his Majesty, wherein he demanded that
one Vaugre, whom Deffunitis had corrupted,
should be brought to his Tryal
for an attempt he had made upon his
Life. This Deffunitis is somewhere else
stiled, the Creature of the Mareschal d'
Ancre, and the Executioner in ordinary of
his Violence and Barbarities. The Duke
likewise complained, that they had endeavoured by force to take away from
him the places belonging to the Government given to his Father, not by way
of Reward, he said, but as a Token of
his Fidelity in the Civil Wars. He pre-
served the Estate there entire, and would
never suffer strangers to dismember it.*

Mercure
Francois,
1617.

Indeed, the Duke de *Mayenne*'s Father had the heart of a true French-man at the time of the League, and did oppose with all his might the dismembering of the Crown, or the transferring thereof into the House of *Austria*. But the Remembrance of what the Lieutenant General of the League had done, must needs have been

been so very odious to the Son of *Henry IV.* that the Duke *de Mayenne* seemed to want some of his prudence, when he refreshed his memory with it. He represented also, that in order to submit to the Iniquities of the times, and the violent Counsels of the Marechal *d'Ancre* and his Creatures, he had some thoughts of leaving the Kingdom, and making himself a voluntary Exile, and of entering into the service of the Republick of *Venice*. *Although the respect I pay, Sir, to your Commands, added Mayenne, has made me to forget the Injuries I have suffered from your Ministers; tho I shew plain enough that I only seek after that Repose, which the Innocence of my Actions ought to procure me, yet they never cease to persecute me.* For indeed, the manner in which I have been treated, can be called by no other name than an insupportable persecution, never heard of before in your Kingdom.

King *Lewis* answered the Duke *de Mayenne* by the Pen of *Richelieu*, his new Secretary of State. This Letter was much better worded, and more finely turned than that of the Dukes. For there the Secretary did with great niceness and delicacy touch upon what *Mayenne* had represented concerning the pretended services of his Father, at the time of the League, of which he was the Lieutenant General. *I do not answer, introduced he the King speaking, as to the manner how you*

161.7. you say my Cousin, the late Duke de Mayenne, your Father, obtained the Government which you are now intrusted with. His wise management of himself during the last years of his Life, had quite put out of my remembrance his former Actions, which he has often blamed himself. He shewed so much Zeal and Fidelity ever since the troubles of that League were composed, that if a Sovereign has any obligations to a Subject, I confess my self indebted to him, and especially for his having so many times recommended to you to live and dye in the Obedience you owe me. This Testimony which Lewis XIII. gave to the memory of the late Duke de Mayenne, ought to be preserved in History. But what Robespier slides in there as it were by the by, (if a Sovereign can be indebted for anything to his Subject) ought not to escape our consideration. The Genius of that flattering and ambitious Courtier began by this insinuation to discover itself. Did he then believe it unconcerning the Majesty of a Prince, to own that he could have any obligations to his Subjects? If the Bishop of Lavaur had made the Turk or Great Mogul to have spoken thus, perhaps one might have then esteemed him; but since the French are obliged to their King, when he governs them according to Law, so is the King likewise obliged to them when they serve him truly and faithfully. The engagements and Duties are reciprocal on both

both sides. Such are the Principles of the Politie established in *France* since *Richelieu* and *Mazarin*'s time. Instead of infusing into Kings and young Princes, that they are only made for the People, they have been perpetually buzzing into their Ears, and flattering them that all their Subjects are made for them. King *Lewis* promises the Duke *de Mayenne* that the attempt he complains of, shall be vigorously punished; and afterwards his Majesty reproaches him, for that his Actions are not correspondent to the protestations he made of the Fidelity and Innocence of his Conduct, *These things*, said the King, are incompatible with the Intrigues and Cabals you have engaged your self in, with the *Levies* of men you are making, not only without my permission, but also against my Will.

At the very same time that *Mary de Medicis* was making the King her Son to write after this manner, *Luines* was labouring all he could to perswade his Majesty to give the great Lords and People all possible satisfaction, by removing the *Mareschal d' Ancre*, and resolving to take away the administration of the Government from the Queen his Mother. *Sonabini* perceived it well enough, and being highly incensed that the discon- Every Body
exclaims a-
gainst the Ma-
reschal d' An-
cre. Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite Tom.
v. p. 29, 30.
v. 1.

mented Party found out daily new means whereby to render him more suspected by the King, and more odious to all *France*, he resolved to carry things to Mercure
Francois CX- 1616.

extremity, and by open force to destroy so powerful a Party that were formed against him. *Barbin*, his most intimate Confidant, a violent and hot-headed Fellow, encouraged him in it the more eagerly, because he saw he was not able to keep up himself, but by utterly ruining all those that had conspired to pull down the promoter of his Fortune. *Mangot* and *Richelieu* were in the same case; and though they would fain have been thought more moderate in all outward appearance, yet they laboured as hard as any of their Party to keep the management of publick Affairs still in the hands of *Mary de Medicis*, and her *Conchini*; for the ruin of the Favourite would of necessity bring along with it the downfal of the Queen that had raised him. Her Majesty being tormented on all sides, was resolved sometimes to throw up the Government of the Kingdom into the hands of her Son, that he might dispose of it even as he pleased. But the artificial insinuations of *Barbin*, soon diverted her from so weak a resolution. *Madam*, said *Barbin* to her, if once you leave off the Administration of the Government, you will utterly ruin your Children. They are absolutely ruined, when once you cease to govern.

Conchini, frightened almost out of his senses at this storm which hung so black over his head, often pressed his Wife to return with him into Italy. The death

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of their Daughter, which happened about the beginning of this year, seemed to him as a certain omen of the downfal of his Family. But *Galigai* had more Courage, or rather less Prudence than her Husband. The *Mareschal d' Ancre* seeing then that he was not able to prevail over the obstinacy of his Wife, whom he durst not abandon, not only fell to making what preparations he could for War, which he intended to begin the next Spring, but was also contriving Ways and Means to shelter and defend himself in *Normandy*, in case there should be a necessity. The Fortifications of *Quilleboeuf* were carried on by his Orders with the utmost diligence. The place was of great importance to him, being situate near the mouth of the River *Seine*. He had bought the Government of *Pont de L'Arche*; and it was given out that he was treating for that of *Vernon*, *Meulan*, and *Corbeil*, between the Cities of *Paris* and *Rouen*, on the same River. His Enemies, to make him the more odious, libelled him in some of their Pamphlets for having drawn vast summs of Money out of the Royal Treasury, and laying them out in unheard-of Expences, and exorbitant profusions; in fine, for his having designed to make himself Master of the River *Loire*, as he was already of the River *Seine*, by buying the Governments of *Amboise*, *Angers*, and *Nantes*. These Accusations, whereof

P

some

1617.

some were false and others well enough grounded, strangely wrought upon the Spirits of the people, and made 'em revolt against *Mary de Medicis, Conchini*, and the new Ministry. Every body complained of the Government, they exaggerated the severity and violence of it, and according to their own Inclinations, Passions, or Interests, they enlarged upon the Calamities which threatened *France*. *Lui*nes and his Creatures acquainted the young King with all these Proceedings, and made him afraid it might come at last to a general Insurrection of all his Subjects. 'Tis very strange, said he one day pretty warmly, that the *Mareschal d'Ancre* should attempt to ruin my Kingdom, and I not dare to complain of him to my Mother. She would presently break forth into a desperate passion. They took hold of this lucky moment to make their own advantage, and perswaded the young *Lewis* to take upon him a Kingly resolution to destroy *Conchini*, but *Mary de Medicis* his Protectress knew nothing of all this.

*The Duke de Nevers is de-zagne, Duke de Nevers, registered in
Parliament the 17th of January, still en-
closed the complaints and murmurings.
They could not without indignation see
the extreme rigour of the Queen Mother,
against a Lord of so great a distinction,
and who was so much esteemed in France.*
1617.

The King's Declaration against *Gon-*
Never *is de-zagne*, *Duke de Nevers*, registered in
Parliament the 17th of January, still en-
closed the complaints and murmurings.
They could not without indignation see
the extreme rigour of the Queen Mother,
against a Lord of so great a distinction,
and who was so much esteemed in *France*.
There had been nothing done that re-
quired

quired making so much haste to declare him a Rebel, and guilty of High Treason. He had not broke out yet into Rebellion. Some attempts he had made in *Champagne* were indeed a little too violent, &c. 1617. Vittorio Siri
Memorie recondite Tom.
iv. p. 27, 28.

and ought not to be vindicated. It appeared that he had a mind to Canton himself in his Government with the *Mareschal de Bouillon*. But however, they might have still taken another course with him. Affairs were not quite desperate with respect to him; and this precipitation made people think, that the *Mareschal d' Ancre* designed to put him to his last extremities. The *Duchess Dowager de Longueville*, Sister to *Gonzague*, was using her utmost efforts to get him reconciled to the Court. *Bentivoglio*, the Pope's new Nuncio, in the room of *Urbaldini*, who was then promoted to the Cardinalate, at the solicitation of the *Duchess Dowager of Longueville*, employed his utmost Interest to effect it with the Queen Mother, the *Mareschal d' Ancre*, and the new Ministers of State; but *Conchitti* had so highly incensed *Mary de Medicis* against the *Duke de Nevers*, and the rest of the Confederate Lords, that she answered the Pope's Nuncio, that gentle means having hitherto proved ineffectual, they were resolved to suppress the boldness of those persons by severity and force. *They resolve to act like petty Kings in their respective Governments*, said the Queen Mother to *Bentivoglio*, but

1617. I will take care they shall not, and make them know who can reduce them. Things are brought to the utmost extremity. I must ruin, and severely punish those factious and turbulent Spirits, or suffer the King utterly to lose his Authority.

The Mareschal d' Ancre answered as haughtily as his Mistres, to the pressing instances of the Pope's Nuncio, on the behalf of Gonzague. Conchini, filled with the great Projects he had in his head, told him, that the King should very suddenly have an Army of fourscore thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. The Count de Schomberg, added he, has received Orders to go to Germany, and bring from thence some good Troops. As for my own particular, I am resolved to raise and maintain five thousand men at my own Charges. I will teach the French what all the faithful Servants of the King ought to do upon such an occasion. The Bishop de Lucon seemed as exasperated as Conchini his Patron. He intimated to Bentivoglio, that the King was resolved to be Master in his own Kingdom. His Majesty hopes, said Richelieu, that if the Duke de Nevers and the other Lords, will openly rise up in Arms against him, the Pope will excommunicate them as Rebels to their Sovereign. The Pope's Nuncio was surprized when he received such a Compliment as this. He answered in general terms, that the King might expect all imaginable succours and good offices from his

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite Tom.
iv. pag. 33,
34, 35.

1617.

his Holiness ; but *Bentivoglio* went no further. The Proposals of thundering out the Bolts of the *Vatican*, seemed to him of too great a consequence, and such a violent procedure might have been capable of making the discontented Lords to rise against the Pope, and throwing themselves into the Arms of the Reformed Party.

I find in the Memoirs of that time, that the Dutchess de *Longueville* employed also Father *de Berulle* to use his best Interest in favour of the Duke *de Nevers*. All sort of men are made use of in Intrigues of the Court. Bigots and Directors of Consciences have often a greater share in them than any others.

Peter de Berulle was descended from a noble Family in *Champagne*, and related to that of *Seguiers*, which was very considerable amongst the Lawyers, or Gentlemen of the Long Robe. Having embraced the Ecclesiastical State, he made himself very famous in the world, by instituting the Congregation of the Priests of the Oratory, whereof he was the first Superior General. He was a man of Parts, of an exemplary Life, and of a most sublime Devotion. They would have condemned him about this time for a Quietist ; for, in short, he goes still beyond the Arch-bishop of *Cambray*. But by a good luck for him, he never then thought of advancing Principles of Politicks, as dangerous

Father de
Berulle, Ge-
neral of the
Fathers of the
Oratory in
France, acted
at Court in
favour of the
Duke de Ne-
vers.

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re-
condite. Tom.
iv. p. 32.

Lettres &
Memoirs de
M. du Plessis
Mosnai, 1617.

1617. and disagreeable in *France*, as those that we find in the *Adventures of Telemachus*. *Mary de Medicis*, and divers other Ladies of the first Quality, had a very particular esteem for the Piety of *F. de Berulle*. He was to some of them the Director of their Consciences, and by that means he gained a very considerable Interest at Court. We shall see him hereafter employed in very important Negotiations, and the Queen Mother will herself obtain a Cardinal's Cap for him. The Congregation which he had instituted in the year 1611. makes his name Immortal and Glorious. This Congregation has afforded, and does still afford very learned men, Bishops of more than ordinary Merit, and very great

Preachers to the *Roman Church in France*. Shall I presume to do my self that Honour, to say that I had my own poor education therein? Besides my having been but a very indifferent Member of that Society, my name is become so odious at *Paris*, and other places, that I ought to be afraid lest I should do an injury to the Gentlemen of that Order, by endeavouring to testify my acknowledgments for the Education I formerly received from them. Perhaps I may prevent in some measure this misfortune, by declaring with the same sincerity, that I did not learn of them, either the Principles of the Protestant Religion which I have now embraced, or the

Maxims

Maxims of those Politicks that are scattered up and down in this History. Their Enemies have often attempted to bring them under the suspicion of having some sentiments which are not looked upon as over-orthodox by the Church of *Rome*, and as opposite to the service of their King. These are notorious untruths : I have always found them very good Subjects ; and as to what concerns the Religion which they profess, they are so far from being but a little devoted to it, that I stood amazed to see that such rational and discerning Ecclesiasticks, should give themselves over to the most superstitious practices of the *Romish* Church. But their good Father General did not succeed in his Negotiations on the behalf of the Dukes *de Nevers* and *Mayenne*, neither at Court nor in the House of *Guise*, where he was held in most wonderful esteem and veneration.

Gonzague went to meet the Duke *de Mayenne* and the other Lords at *Soissons* ; and there he answered the Declaration published against him, in a Letter written to the King in the form of a Manifesto. As his Majesty had given him the term of fifteen days, wherein to acknowledge his fault, he protested therein that he was ready to wait on the King, to justify himself before his Council, or in the Chamber of the Peers of *France*, and to send back the Soldiers he thought himself obliged to quarter in his Houses,

Letters of the Duke de Nevers to the King upon the Declaration set forth by his Majesty a-merique Francois

1617.

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to secure them against the attempts of his Enemies. But I beseech you to consider, Sir, added the Duke, that the whole Government of the Kingdom, is now at this day in the hands of the Mareschal d' Ancre, and his Creatures. He is the sole Arbitrator of the Lives, Fortunes, Honours and Dignities of your Subjects. Your Ancient Ministers are removed. The Seals are taken away from M. du Vair, as being thought a person of too much Integrity. The Mareschal d' Ancre by an unfufferable presumption, abuses the name of your Majesty, to exercise the greatest violences against me, and against all those whom he thinks capable of opposing his insatiable Covetousness, and his Ambitious projects. These Reasons oblige me, Sir, most humbly to entreat your Majesty, that you would be pleased to give me first the necessary securities for my Person and my Fortune, and to order that the Mareschal d' Ancre and his Creatures, shall in no manner of way take cognizance of my concerns. They are my declared Enemies; they are contriving nothing else than the ruin of your good and faithful Servants. And to the end that upright and disinterested Judges may examine my Proceedings, I make bold again to beseech your Majesty to call the Princes, the Dukes and Peers, the ancient Officers of your Crown, and the Ministers of State, who have so effectually served the late King in his most important Affairs; and I will most readily submit my self to their

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BOOK IX. LEWIS XIII.

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their Determinations, whenever they shall be near your Person, or else to the judgment of the Chamber of Peers, according to the Laws of your Kingdom, and according to the usual forms in such like cases. 'Tis with an extreme regret that I find my self necessitated to take these precautions. But seeing that the Mareschal d' Ancre my Enemy, has now at his disposal the Seal, the Hand, and the Royal Treasure of your Majesty; and that he orders as he pleases your Forces and your Armies, I have good Reasons to be affraid, that he may likewise have the power to oppress my Innocence, and to cause you against your will, to sign the Sentence of my Ruin and Condemnation. There have been always but too many mercenary Pens ready to serve those who are advanced to the highest degrees of Fortune and Honour. Conchini wanted not one who made him a most wretched Counter-Manifesto in answer to what the Duke de Nevers had said of him. The Contents of this Writing are but Recriminations against Gonzague, and base glowering flatteries in the behalf of Mareschal d' Ancre. There he is described as a most excellent person, whose good qualifications and important services, were become the object of the Envy and Hatred of the Duke de Nevers and the other Lords.

Several Remonstrances from the Dukes de Vendome and Mayenne, and the Mareschal de Bouillon to the King very suddenly

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The Dukes de Vendome and Mayenne, the Mareschal de Bouillon, the Marques de Coevres, and the President le Jai, are declared Rebels, and guilty of High Treason.
Mercure Francois,

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followed the Letter, that was written by the Duke *de Nevers*, wherein with great sharpness and vehemence, they complained against the Marechal *d'Ancre*, his Wife, and their Creatures. Tis very surprizing, that *la Galigai* should be named in Remonstrances of that moment. Should the Interest of a Confidant with her Mistress, have deserved to be alledged as a lawful pretence for the discontent of the Great Lords and Officers of the Crown? One may easily perceive to what intent these Remonstrances were made. They cried down the Marechal's Wife as a Sorceress and Poisoner, and one that was capable of attempting upon the Life of the King, and Monsieur his only Brother. As Manifesto's, Remonstrances, and such like Pamphlets do principally come abroad in times of a Civil War, to prepossess and stir up the People, so the Publishers thereof fancy that they have a Priviledge to say or write any pitiful sorry stuff, provided it has but sting and malice enough to make an impression upon the minds of ignorant common people, and that will have a greater effect, than all the solidest arguments in the World. I am not of that opinion. Justice and sincerity are very becoming in all respects, at least we ought to keep within the bounds of probability.

The discontented party most shamefully affirmed in a grave and well studied

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Manifesto, that the Lives of both the King and his Brother were in apparent danger from *Conchini* and his perfidious Wife. What wretched Calumny is this, and what could they expect to get from such a black and dangerous attempt? The Queen Mother, their Protectress, had most certainly lost all her Authority by it: The Prince of *Conde*, their declared Enemy, would ascend the Throne. What had they to look for from a King that should come out of a Prison, into which *Mary de Medicis* had thrown him at their solicitation? Perhaps both the Husband and the Wife, too much believing, according to the Genius of their Nation, in the predictions of judicial Astronomy, had consulted the South-sayers and Astrologers about their Fortunes, or about the length of the King's Life, whose health was always very weak and uncertain; But that they had ever any thoughts of taking away the Lives of the two Supporters of the Queen's Authority, and their own Fortune, 'tis the most improbable story that could be invented. How could Persons of the first Quality have the Confidence to set forth such a piece of extravagance as this in the face of all Europe? Such impudent Calumnies spoil and ruin the best Cause in the World. Those who now read what has been published against the Marechal *d'Ancre* and his Wife, are tempted to believe, that

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that they are unjustly oppressed, and that the Dukes *de Nevers*, *Mayenne* and *Vendome*, the Marechal *de Bouillon*, and the other Lords, only followed the impulse and evil motions of their own hatred and envy, and some other blind and violent Passions. They should have only represented the boundless Covetousness and Ambition of a stranger, who was resolved to have the sole Government in himself under the name indeed of the Queen Mother. This would have been a sufficient Cause for them to have grounded their desires for his removal.

Sir, said the discontented Party in their Reimonstrances, in the name of the Princes, Dukes and Peers, the Ancient Officers of the Crown, and the Chief Lords of the Kingdom, *The Marechal d' Ancre*, his Wife, and their Creatures, are the only Cause of the Calamities we labour under, the abuses we see, and the great misfortune we are affraid of. Since the late King departed this Life, the Marechal d' Ancre has by his Artifices got to himself the whole Government of the Kingdom. He is Master of your Councils, your Armies and your strong Places. He stops the legal freedom of the Reimonstrances of your Parliaments, he claps your Chief Officers in Prison, and is the Author of that violence, which hath been done to the first Prince of the Blood. They afterwards beseech the King to take the Duke *de Nevers* under his Protection, and to put a stop to the

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extraordinary and uniusl proceedings begun against that Noble Lord under pretences so notoriously false, that the voice of the Publick was sufficient to confute them. *What is the Crime of the Duke de Nevers?* said some of his Friends : *He is descended from one of the most Illustrious Families of your Kingdom, he loves his Country, he promotes the tranquility of it, he is so zealous for your service, that he owns no other legal Authority than your own. This, Sir, is all his Crime:*

Having excused as well as they could some things the Duke *de Nevers* had done in *Champagne*, they humbly desired his Majesty to redres the Abuses of the government, to cause the Treaty of *Loudun* to be put in execution, and to call again into his Council the Princes of the Blood, the Dukes and Peers, the ancient Officers of the Crown, and the Ministers of the late King. These Reimonstrances were delivered into the hands of *Richelieu*, who was then Secretary of State. The Queen Mother and the *Mareschal d' Ancre* did what they could to suppress them. But *Laines* keeping Intelligence with the discontented Lords, acquainted the King with every thing that was done. And the care that *Mary de Medicis* took to conceal from her Son what was transacted, served only to give a better opportunity to the Favourite to increase his suspicions, and to strengthen him in the mistrust he had already begun to inspire into him.

Before the Court went about to answer the Remonstrances of *Mayenne*, *Vendome*, and *Bouillon*, the Queen Mother prevailed with the Council to have them declared Rebels, and guilty of High Treason, unless within fifteen days they would return to their duty. The Marquess de *Cœuvres* and the President *le Jai* were both mentioned in the same Declaration. The Parliament of *Paris* blindly registered and confirmed every thing that was sent them from the Court. Were the Heads of this Assembly, whom we saw but two years ago, so mightily exasperated and enraged against the Marechal *d'Ancre*, now become Slaves? Let us not have so ill an opinion of those Gentlemen, they hated *Conchini* and his Creatures as much as any of them, but were afraid of provoking a man; who at that time seemed to have power enough in a little while to have crushed down the discontented Party, who were too weak to resist the great number of Troops the Queen Mother had sent out on all sides against them. Whatsoever might have been the true motives of the silence of these Magistrates in this critical conjuncture, I can by no means excuse their too great want of courage. Ought they to have suffered the first Prince of the Blood to have been put into Prison, and to have declared those Lords guilty of High Treason, who were so eminent by their birth, employments and services, without first at least representing

senting the dangerous consequences of so
precipitate and violent a proceeding?

A while after this Declaration of the King was published, they put out another in the form of a *Manifesto* in the name of his Majesty, on the subject of the *Commotions of the Kingdom*. This Declaration was, properly speaking, an answer to the last Letter of the Duke *de Nevers* and the Remonstrances of the three other Lords. It was in all likelihood drawn up by the Bishop of *Lucon*. He signed it as Secretary of State. The Duke *de Roban*, who was a penetrating and judicious man, found the Declaration to be well worded and nicely drawn. Others were of opinion that it was too prolix. It contains, said they, abundance of words, and very few close and solid reasons. The Writer designed therein to refute what the Duke *de Nevers* and the other Lords had said against the violence and injustice of the Government, and to shew the falsehood of the pretence which was alleged by them, to excuse themselves from waiting on the King, in saying that their Enemies had usurped his whole Authority, and that *Conchini* kept him in a kind of a Prison. At the end of the Declaration the Secretary of State brings in young *Lewis* protesting before God and men, that it was the necessity of suppressing the revolt of his Subjects, which had put him upon taking up Arms; and it is with a great

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regret that he finds himself obliged to make use of them, against those who ought to venture their lives for his service; that his Majesty shall weep for the blood which they will force him to shed; that he wished with all his heart, he was able otherwise to maintain the Dignity of the Crown, than by exposing his People to the calamities that always attend a Civil War, kindled by those Lords who are resolved to ruin the Sovereign Authority, to rend the Kingdom in pieces, to canton themselves every one in their respective Governments, and to act like so many Tyrants in those Provinces, where they ought only to take care and see that the Kings Laws be duly and punctually observed. *His Majesty*, caused they to make King *Lewis* say, without his knowledge, and perhaps against his will, *hopes that God, who protects Kings and Kingdoms, and who hath already wrought so many wonders in favour of France, will impute to those Rebels the fatal consequences of a Civil War; that he will vindicate the Justice of his Arms; and having inflicted on the Disturbers of the publick tranquillity that punishment which is due to their disobedience, he will restore Peace to the Kingdom.* So that if the beginning of his Majesty's Reign be disturbed by the Factions of some restless and ambitious Spirits, the end thereof will be peaceable and glorious. The wishes that *Richelieu* made the King to pronounce were fulfilled. A Calm succeeded for some

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some time those great and tempestuous agitations, but it was quite otherwise than what the good Bishop desired of God.

The discontented Party, who were assaulted by Arms as well as Declarations from the King, published a very long <sup>The Manifesto
of the discontented Lords.</sup> *Manifesto*, to justifie themselves, *against the Tyranny of the Mareschal d' Ancre and his Adherents.* It would be too long to insert here an abstract thereof. The Lords, according to their usual way, give therein a long account of all that had happened since the Treaty of *Loudun*, with a sharp *Invective against Conchini*. They mightily exaggerate his pretended *Usurpations*. If we will believe the Authors of the *Manifesto*, the Mareschal *d' Ancre* had made himself as great and as powerful as the Ancient Mayors of the Palace, and left nothing to King *Lewis* but the empty Title, and the outward State and Pomp of Royalty. His *Tyranny* was such, that if they had but daired to complain of it, they wou'd have been look'd upon as Rebels. He had taken away the liberty of Speech both in the *Assembly of the States General*, and in the *Parliament*. In short, his *Creatures* had resolved at the time of the meeting of the *States General* to cause a Law to be passed, whereby the *Princes of the Blood* should for the future be deprived of having any share in the government of the Kingdom. The reproaches that are made in this *Manifesto* against the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, are for the

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the most fat so over-strained and improbable, that they are more fit to justifie him, than to blast his reputation in the minds of reasonable and disinterested persons. Was it not plainly visible that the design of his Enemies was more to raise up the ignorant Mob against him, than to tell the truth; they deserved to be ridiculed as the publishers of scurrilous and defamatory Pamphlets. Such abominable calumnies as these are unworthy, I do not say of *Christians*, but of all those who have any sense of honour and probity.

This Manifesto concluded like others on such like occasions. The Lords protested that they took up Arms only to restore the Authority of the King, and preserve the Kingdom. They likewise invited all true French-men to concur in so just an undertaking, and threatened to make those answerable for all the calamities that should attend the War, who should be so base as not to oppose the establishing of the Tyranny of the Marechal d' Ancre. But what is the most deplorable in this case is, that a false Oath is look'd upon for nothing. We take God and our own Consciences to witness, said the publishers of this Manifesto, that we have no other Interest in our view besides that of the Publick. We design nothing else but the welfare of the Kingdom. All that we propose to our selves, is to bring again the good and loyal Subjects of the King.

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according to their respective ranks and dignities, to the obedience that is due to him, to re-invest him with the Sovereign Authority, and finally to restore Justice, and an exact observation of the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Edicts of Pacification. These Gentlemen might have spared themselves the Crime of Perjury. No body would suffer themselves to be bubbled by it. They had so apparently discovered the untruth of their Oaths and Protestations, that they offended God to no purpose; for they were never the more believed. *Let them first think of becoming upright and sincere, said some people, and then we will believe the Manifesto's and Declarations of these men who pretend to be zealous for the publick good.*

The Duke de Nevers having some Interests to manage at the Court of Rome, because of the Succession of the States of *Mantua*, which concerned him, in case Duke Ferdinand, and Prince *Vincent de Gonzague* should die without Issue male, wrote a long Letter to the Pope, in the form of a Manifesto, or Apology for his taking up of Arms. I don't know but that he might have been afraid of the Excommunication, which the Bishop of *Lincon* had proposed to the Nuncio. The Duke was an unaccountable man in his way, and had a mind to distinguish himself from others in everything. He had continually rowling some mighty Project or other in his head, and his vanity

A Letter of the Duke de Nevers to the Pope, by way of Manifesto.
Mercure Francois.

vanity did often prompt him to do somewhat ridiculous, and would turn to no account at all. Is it not very pleasant to see him speaking in a Letter to the Pope, as if he had been not only the Mediator, but also the Guarantee of the Treaty at *Loudun*? So great a quality, that *Villeroy* would not allow the least shadow of it to the King of *England*, by suffering his Ambassador to sign the Treaty. 'Tis upon this pretended Guarantee that *Nevers* founded the Justification of his Letter written to the King, to desire to know of him the reason why he had caused the Prince of *Conde* to be apprehended, which appeared to the Duke a manifest infraction of a *Treaty*, the conditions of which he fancied he was obliged to make both the King and the Prince of *Conde* strictly to observe, by declaring himself against the first Aggressor. There is something so ridiculous and so bizarre in this proceed- that one cannot forbear laughing when one reads his Letter, tho' otherwise it is very well written.

Nevers in his Letter, represents the Dukes de *Mayenne* and *Vendome*, and the Mareschal de *Bouillon*, as so many men that have complained to him of the non-execution of the Treaty of *Loudun*, and have had recourse to his protection against the violences of the Court of *France*, and against the Injustice done to the Prince of *Conde*, almost in the same man-

manner as the Duke of *Savoy* then implored of the King a Succour of Forces against the Gouvernour of *Milan*, who refused to perform the Conditions of the Treaty of *Ais*, whereof his Majesty had promised to be Guarantee. So *Nevers* in all likelihood fancied that he was become some powerful Sovereign, and it ought not to surprize us. We have seen that at the time of the late Broils of the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke had raised some troops, and that standing Neuter, he offered his Mediation, with a design to declare himself against those who would not accept of the Peace upon reasonable terms. It seems the Duke has been apprehensive of the ridiculous parts he was acting therein; for, in short, 'tis a very extraordinary thing, that a meer Subject, let him be never so Rich or never

Powerful, should pretend to be the guarantee of a Treaty which he has negotiated between the King and the Lords, who demanded a Reformation of the Abuses in the Government. Therefore, for fear he should expose himself so much to the raillery of his Enemies and other evil persons, *Nevers* insinuated his Letter, that after the Imprisonment of the Prince of *Conde*, and the withdrawing of the terrify'd Lords, his first design was to intercede with the King in behalf of his Highness and rest of the Lords; but that some Ministers, who were slaves to the Mareschal

1617. *d'Ancre*, not being contented to stop up all passages, by which the just Remonstrances *Nevers* sent to the Court might have entrance, they still continued to cause him to be used like a *Rebel*, so that he thought now he had all the right in the world, to defend himself against so crying and outrageous an *Injustice*.

*Grumbling of
the People oc-
casioned by a
Letter of the
Mareschal d'
Ancre to the
King.*

The Mareschal *d'Ancre* thought likewise he ought to signalize himself by some Pamphlet or other published in his behalf. There was every day bawled about the Streets of *Paris*, some Letters, Manifesto's, Declarations, &c. either from the King, or some of the Lords. But there had not as yet been any set forth by *Conchini*. Some Writers, whom he had hired, had only undertaken to justify him in their Answers to the Letters and Remonstrances of the Lords that had declared against him. The Mareschal was gone into *Normandy* ever since *March*, to survey the Fortifications of *Quillebeuf*, and to get a considerable Grant of the Woods of that Province, past at the Parliament of *Rouen*. I do not know how it came into his Head to write from *Pont de l'Arche*, a Letter to the King, which was afterwards made publick. Did his Pride blind him on this occasion? Or was it not some secret and malicious Enemy who put him upon it, to make him still more odious, in appearing unseasonably upon the Stage? However, *A Letter of the Mareschal*

refchal d' Ancre to the King, was cried about the Streets of Paris. He therein acquainted him that the six thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse, of which he had spoke to his Majesty when he took his leave of him, were ready to march where-ever he should be pleased to order them. *Conchini offered to Command them himself, and maintain them for four months at his own charge.* He only entreated his Majesty, that he would let him keep a thousand Foot for the security of the Places of his Government. *I shall expect your Orders, Sir*, said the Mirechal in his Letter, *and I will go to any place wheresoever you shall be pleased to send me. I must humbly beseech you not to have the least regard, neither of the Dignity wherewith you have honoured me, nor of the Charge I have been at. I shall think no Condition whatsoever too hard, provided France may know that I have a fervent zeal for the Welfare of the Kingdom, and a sincere affection for the service of your Majesty.* Although the quality of Mareschal of France gives me a right to Command the Army where I shall be present, and especially the Troops raised and maintained at my own charges; yet I am willing to obey whomever you please. But my Ambition shall be to yield to no body, whenever any opportunity shall present it self of running with the first to the service of your Majesty: As for any thing else, I shall have no dispute with any Body, either for Place or Command.

These

The History of Book IX.

These proffers and protestations were noble and generous, and would have been admired in any other man. But they were then unseasonable, and did not become a stranger, that was universally hated because of his vast Riches and his exorbitant Power. Those who have too much Vanity, commonly want Prudence. All the world cryed out against the immense Fortune, and boundless Power of *Conchini*. What had he to do to acquaint the People that he had seven thousand men raised and kept up with his own Money? Instead of advancing thereby his Interest with the King, to whom he proffered his Troops and his Service, he made himself still more suspected and odious to a young Prince, who was prepossessed and incensed against him every day. A Favourite, very subtilly causes the King to take notice of the excessive Pride and Arrogance of the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, that he will hereafter fancy that it was himself that had secured the Crown to King *Lewis*; and the Prince, naturally fearful and jealous, becomes the more mistrustful, and receives all the impressions that *Luines* his Favourite gives him, against a too imperious Mother, and a Stranger, who will govern against the King's pleasure, and in spite of all the great Lords of *France*. When he came out of Italy, said they, he had not where-withal to keep a Footman, and in less than seven

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seven years, he has raised his Fortune to such a height, as to be able to maintain seven thousand men. He has lost at play fourscore thousand Pistolets in one night. Baffompierre boasts that he has won of him this Winter eight thousand Crowns at Trick-track, and that the Mareschal lost most of it. How comes he by all this Money, and who is't that has given it him ? Every one according to his own fancy and pre-engagement, made an Inventory of the Fortune of Conchini. Some affirmed that he had got above four millions of Gold out of the Royal Treasury, others pretended that Galigai had extorted above three millions of Livres, in getting Businesses quickly dispatched in the Council. These men reckoned that the expences of the Mareschal's House, amounted to a hundred thousand Crowns a year; and some others said, that he had sent several millions of Money to Florence, Rome, and other places in Italy. A pleasant Mareschal of France this Conchini is ! said some Gentlemen of the Sword. What Exploits has he done ? We have seen Strangers preferred to the first Military Dignities. Trivulce, Strozzi, and some other Italians, have obtained the Staff of Mareschal of France. But then they had first deserved that distinction of Honour, by the Battels they had won, by their taking of Towns, and other great services done to the State. And this man's merit is the taking of one little paltry Town

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during all the troubles of the last year. The censuring was general, and not only done in a corner, or (as we say) behind a Curtain, but in Printed Pamphlets, occasioned by his notable Letter to the King. He was accused every where for acting as a Sovereign, and disposing of the most important employments of the Kingdom, according to his arbitrary Will and Pleasure. It was he that made the Marshals of France, and gave the Army their Generals, as they said. He took away the Seals, and bestowed them as he thought fit. He displaced the Secretaries of State, and put others in their room. President Jeannin did not furnish him with Money enough, and therefore he was turned out of his Offices, and Barbin, a man of no Birth or Quality, was made Comptroller General of the Finances.

The ill condition of the affairs of the discontented Party.

Journal de Bassompierre
Memoirs of the Regency of
Mary de Medicis.

Mercure Francois.
1617.

The murmurings and clamours rose higher proportionably, as the discontented Party grew weaker; for the people were afraid that Conchini would become more arrogant and insupportable, when he should find his Enemies quite brought under and oppressed. The Marshal of Montigny had entirely reduced the Nivernois. The Duke de Guise, and the Marshal de Thémis, seized almost all the Places that the Duke de Nevers had fortified in Champagne. Châlons-Porres and Rethel were taken after some small Resistance. The Duke de Mayenne indeed fought with great Vigour and Courage against the Duke

Duke *d' Angouleme*, who was marching towards *Soissons*. Yet the former was not strong enough to keep the Field; he was forced to retire into the Town. *Angouleme* sate down before *Soissons* and besieged it, and *Mayenne* defended himself with all imaginable Bravery, against a Royal Army filled up with good Officers and very experienced Souldiers. The Duke *de Rohan*, a religious Observer of the Promise he had made to the Queen Mother, served in that Army like the rest. He had not yet made that Reflection which he left behind him afterwards, *That the absolute Reign of Favourites, is the ruin of a State or Kingdom.* He laboured to establish the Reign of *Conchini*, in assisting to reduce *Soissons*. The Duke *de Mayenne* found himself just upon the point of being ruined. He had no other resource, but the Succour of twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, which the Marechal *de Bouillon* headed, with a design, if he could, to raise the Siege, and bring off his good Friend. Though the great capacity and admirable experience of *Bouillon* in Warlike Affairs gave mighty hopes, yet the first advantages the King's Armies had obtained, so terrified the seeret, as well declared Enemies of *Conchini*, that *Luisne* himself began to tremble. The Cardinal *de Guise* press'd him very hard, to prevail with the King at last to take up a firm and steady resolution to remove from the

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Court and out of the Kingdom a man, who had made it his whole busines to ruin the great Lords, with a design afterwards to keep the King under his dependence and vassalage. The Mareschal *d'Ancre* being informed of this Intrigue, had a good mind to cause the Cardinal to be apprehended, and was thinking to send to that purpose for the Mareschal *de Themines* immediately to come to *Paris*, for he had a better hand at apprehending Prisoners in the *Louvre*, than in reducing Towns. But *Conchini* changed his mind; either because he was affraid that the whole Family of the *Guises* would rise up against him, or else relying too much upon the imminent ruin of the discontented Party, he would defer taking his Revenge of the Cardinal and *Luines*, when he should have fewer Enemies on his hands.

A General Assembly of the Reformed Churches called together at Rochell, without the King's leave. The Court was extremely apprehensive during these Commotions, that the Reformed Party would strike in with them, as they had done the year before. The attempt of the Duke *d'Epernon* upon *Rochell* alarmed the Reformed Churches very much, and the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, who was able to turn all things to his advantage, had perswaded *Cesar Duke of Vendome*, to cause some proposals to be made to the Deputies of some Provinces, that were then at *Rochell*, that he would put himself at the head of the Reformed, in case they would declare them-

themselves for the discontented Party. 1617.

But nothing came of it. *Cesar* was in no esteem among the Reformed, for he was not a man they could trust. The Duke *de Rohan* on his part, was labouring with all his might to dissuade them from joyning themselves to a Party, the two Principal Heads whereof were the Dukes *de Nevers* and *Mayenne*, both declared Enemies to the Reformation. And lest they should be deceived by the insinuations of the Mareschal *de Bouillon* and his Friends, *Rohan* spent himself with laying before them how little assistance the Reformed Churches ought to expect

Discours du
Duc de Ro-
han sur le
Gouverne-
ment de la
Reine Mere
1617.

from the Mareschal, who for his own private Interest had abandoned those of his Religion at the Treaty of *Loudun*, so far, as to engage himself under his hand, to fall upon the Deputies of the Assembly of *Rochell*, in case they would not break up within six weeks. *Du Plessis Monnai*, always well affected to the Peace, and security of those of his Religion, used likewise his endeavours to perswade the Deputies of the Neighbouring Provinces assembled at *Rochell*, to go no further than they must needs, and to withdraw so soon as ever they should have obtained satisfaction from the Court, for what the Duke *d' Epernon* had done of his own head, against the Country of *Aunis*, and against *Rochell*.

But the Mareschal *de Bouillon*'s Wife had so well managed her part in the

1617. several places where she went through, in the Journey she had taken under pretence of going to *Turenne*, and other Territories belonging to her Husband ; and she coloured all her discourses with such a seeming Air of truth, that most men believed in good earnest, that the Marques of *Spinola* was treating about the Rights of the House de la *Mark Maulevrier*, over the Sovereignty of *Sedan*, and that he was coming to take possession thereof, with all the Forces of the Archdukes of the *Low Countries*. And still to make the insinuations and artifices of his Wife more effectual, *Bouillon* caused to be inserted in the Manifesto of the discontented Lords, that the Marechal d' *Andre* had advised the King to relinquish the protection of the Sovereignty of *Sedan*, and that *Barbin*, who was the intimate Confident of *Conchini*, had had the confidence (not to give it a worse name) to lay in the presence of credible witnesses, that his Majesty ought to leave *Sedan* to the discretion of *Spinola*, and permit him to make himself Master of it. This City being of a very great importance to the Reformed Party, they were the more afraid of losing it ; and their Jealousies and suspicions still more and more increased, when they saw so many Troops drawn out in *Champagne*. This marching made them at least apprehensive, that if the King's Forces should be superior

riour in that Province, the Enemies of the *Marechal de Bonillon*, and those of his Religion, would soon cause him to be deprived of the Sovereignty of *Sedan*; and their pretence was the more specious, because this Lord was at that time declared a *Rebel*, and guilty of *High Treason*.

Thus the *Intrigues* of this Lady, who was well instructed by the *Marechal de Bonillon* her Husband, carried it over the efforts of the Duke *du Rohan*, and the *Remonstrances* of honest *du Plessis Mornai*.

Vie de M. d.
Plessis Mornai
L. iv.
Lettres &
Memoires du
meme. 1617.

The *Deputies* chosen by (what the *Reformed* in *France* did call) the *Cercle*, had proceeded to the calling of a general *Assembly* at *Rochell*, which was appointed to meet the 15th of *April*, provided the *Court* would not perform what she had promised to do in the affair of the Duke *d' Epernon*. The Duke *du Rohan* and *du Plessis Mornai* endeavoured all they could to prevent their meeting, but it was to no purpose. The *Broils* that were raised in *France*, the *suspicions* occasioned by the reports concerning *Sedan*, and several other matters of complaint, which the *Court* (always slow and hard to be persuaded to do justice to the *Reformed*) had given them since the *Treaty of Laxden*; all these reasons, I say, were a plausible pretence for people so alarmed and so mistrustful as they were, to persist in their *Resolution* of holding a general *Assembly* at *Rochell*. Therefore they published a *Declaration*, or rather

Mercure Fran-
cois. 1616.

a kind of *Manifesto*, to inform the Publick of the reasons which induced the assembling themselves so extraordinarily, to provide for their common defence and safety in a time of such troubles and agitations, as well as to complain of the non-execution of the Treaty at *Loudun*, and the continual infractions of the Edict of *Nants*. But the true reason of their being thus called, was the necessity of taking some precautions for the future, against such an attempt as that of *Epernon*, and to prevent the *Mareschal de Bouillon*'s losing the Sovereignty of *Sedan*, if the discontented Party should be utterly beaten and routed, as they had great and too just reason to fear. This is so manifestly true, that the Deputies broke up their Assembly very peaceably, so soon as those troubles were ended, by the death of the *Mareschal d'Ancre*.

The Court advises with du Plessis Moruai about that Affair.

The Court was terribly perplexed, when they saw the Declaration which the *Reformed* had put out, setting forth the reasons why they called their general Assembly. Some Members of the Common Council were of the opinion that his Majesty ought expressly to forbid their holding it, and to declare all those Rebels that should dare to meet there; others more in moderate, proposed to get it put off only for some months, that so the King might gain time to see what would be the success of his Armies against the discontented Lords. If God should think good to prosper them,

them, (as we ought to hope) said these, the Huguenots will be then more humble and more tractable. Perhaps they will not think it convenient to meet. And if the discontented Party should gain any advantage, it will be no difficult thing to keep the Huguenots from joyning with them, by granting them some small matters. In the mean while all things will be at a stand, the Huguenot Party will expect the Resolutions of their Assembly, and the King will have time to reduce a Faction, which is not in a condition to make any long Resistance. The Court knew not what measures to take, and tho they were not well pleased with the zeal and concern that *du Plessis Mornai* shewed for his Religion, and the security of his Brethren, yet they were so well satisfied in the Fidelity of that Gentleman, and his great affection to the King's service, and the Ministers of State had likewise so good an opinion of his knowledge and experience, that scarce any resolution of importance was taken in the Council, (especially concerning the Affairs of the Reformed) without having first consulted him. Therefore they dispatched an Express to him concerning this extraordinary Convocation of a General Assembly of those of his Religion, called contrary to the usual forms. *Mary de Medicis* and her new Minister, who were vexed to the heart at this unlucky meeting, were extremely inquisitive to know what Expedient could be found out by

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du Plessis to prevent it. Richelieu himself was mightily pleased that *la Meillerey*, his Uncle, a Gentleman of Poitou, who professed the Reformed Religion, was appointed to go to *SAUMUR*, and confer with *du Plessis Mornai*. The Bishop of *Lusson*, Secretary of State for Military and Foreign Affairs, wrote to him upon this occasion, very kind and obliging Letters.

*The wife and
pendent ad-
vice sent by
du Plessis
Mornai to the
King's Coun-
cil.*

Du Plessis delivered his opinion according to his usual way, I mean with great Integrity and Prudence. After some preliminary complaints, that they had not hearkened to his former wholesome Councils, which would have prevented the present perplexity, he represented to him, that an absolute forbidding them to hold the Assembly, would very unhappily expose the King's Authority, and for ought he knew, might cause a general Insurrection of all the Reformed, who being already but too much exasperated by the attempts of the Duke *d' Epernon*, and the little care that had been taken to satisfy them, would perhaps assemble themselves, notwithstanding all orders to the contrary. *Du Plessis* did not approve neither that the Convocation of the Assembly should be put off further than the 15th of April. Our People, said he, will readily perceive that the design is only to amuse them, and to gain time on purpose to hinder them from providing for their own security. At last

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du Plessis concluded, that in the present Conjecture, they ought a little to dissemble, and suffer patiently the Assembly to be held; and moreover, to endeavour that all things might be there transacted in the most peaceable and advantageous manner for the service of the King. *I confess*, pursued he, *that this dissimulation does not become the Majesty of a Sovereign*. *But at sometimes*, and upon certain occasions, *it is dangerous to stand too nicely and scrupulously upon Formalities*. *When the Prince is happily got off from a ticklish and difficult Affairs*, *he may easily bring things back to their former station*.

The Expedient which *du Plessis* had found out, was adjudged to be the best. *Conchon* and his Creatures fancied that it would suit well enough with their design. They flattered themselves that they should have time to reduce the Dukes *de Nevers* and *Mayenne*, and entirely to break off their Party, before the Reformed would come to any resolution in their Assembly. They were also in hopes that they would not offer to make any insurrection, provided the *Mareschal de Bouillon* should not be disturbed in his Sovereignty of *Sedan*, where he would not be able to do any great harm after the reduction of the other Lords of his Faction. *du Plessis* was very glad that the Court had agreed.

1617. greed to his Proposals, and now his thoughts were wholly bent to instruct those well, who were to be present at that Assembly. Not satisfied with writing to every place, and sending to *Rockell Memorials* with Reasons, he managed his Friends, and pressed them powerfully to represent to the Assembly, that they ought only to take into their Considerations, matters relating to the security of their Churches and Religion. *We ought most bumbly to represent to the King, said he, that the Civil War breaking out almost in all places of the Kingdom, we have great reasons to be afraid for our selves. Let us therefore beseech the King to give Peace to his Kingdom, and to consent that amongst such great troubles, we may at least be allowed to take care of securing the Places with which we have been intrusted. Let us do nothing rashly, but wait and see what will be the end of all this. The Assembly will be always able to take such resolutions as shall be necessary for the security of our Religion and Priviledges, according as affairs shall play.* How wise was this! When I reflect upon the sad and lamentable condition of the Reformed, at the beginning and course of the Reign, whose History I am writing, I find one of the chiefest causes of the misfortune of the Reformed was, that in several instances and occasions, they had

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had not defered enough to the good advices that *du Plessis Mornai* gave them, and that their Enemies, (always malicious, and violent) had made it their businels to obstruct the King's Council from taking into their consideration the Sage Remonstrances which this faithful and judicious Gentleman was never weary of sending to them.

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THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Navarre.

BOOK X.

How great soever the joy of the 1617.
Marechal d' Ancre was, when New Armis.
he heard of the progress the cu of Ligner.
King's Armies had made over re. unde the
Marechal d' Ancre.
the discontented Lords at in Spiffons, in Ancre.
Champagne and elsewhere, yet it was

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intermixt with some disquiet and bitterness. The news he received from the Court made him chagrin. *Luines*, continually pressed by the Cardinal of *Guise* and his own Interests, was contriving all the ways imaginable how to ruin *Conchini*, before the Dukes *de Mayenne* and *Never*s his great Enemies were utterly defeated. He very well foresaw that if the *Mareschal d' Ancre* should bring his designs about, and break off the Party formed against him, then he would be absolute Master indeed, and be able to remove from Court, all those who should in the least make him suspected by the King. *Luines*, alarmed at the menaces of *Conchini*, who resolved to make him answerable for the aversion the King shewed to a Stranger whom he never loved, was continually insinuating into his Majesty, that it was of the utmost importance to appease those troubles, that were likely in a very little time to put the whole Kingdom into a flame. *Take, Sir, the Reins of the Government into your own hands*, said *Luines* to his Master, 'tis the best thing you can

Memoires de
Degeant. 1 p. do. Do you but settle a good order your self
38, 39, 40, in the Administration, and Tranquility
&c. will soon be restored to France. Dost not
your Majesty see, that the *Mareschal* alone
by himself directs all that is directed by
your Council. Resolutions are therein taken
according to the private Passions and Inter-
ests of a Stranger, bought and sold to the

ancient Enemies of your Crown. He was preferred to this great Authority, only by the Interest of his Wife, with the Queen your Mother. And now their common Benefactress has almost no share in the management of Affairs. The Mareschal d' Ancre acts the Sovereign openly and bare-faced: he disposes of most things without ever acquainting the Queen Mother with it. King Lewis was very desirous at least to say that he governed by himself; for in truth, he never did so. He discovered an extreme dissatisfaction, that *Mary de Medicis*, not being contented in taking from him the cognizance of all publick Affairs, should still use him with an unsufferable haughtiness and contempt. *Propose to me some Expedients how I may deliver my self from this hard slavery*, said he to *Luines* and his other Confidants. *I desire nothing more eagerly than to govern: Let us seek for the mildest and surest means to execute what you propose to me. I have the greatest earnestness for it in the world.*

After several tedious deliberations with his Favourite, King Lewis, who was afraid of his Mother, and would by no means incense her against him, was still for having some Expedient proposed how he might engage her to send *Conchini* and his Wife handsomely back again into *Italy*, with the great Estate they had acquired in *France*, and making them still some new gratifications. But *Luines* carried his views further: He would

would fain enrich himself by the spoils of a man, who had heap'd up vast wealth during his seven years Apprenticeship of Favour. They represented to this credulous and unexperienced young King, that his Mother having rejected the Councils, that the pretended Servant of God had given her for sending out of the Kingdom the Marechal *d'Ancre* and his Wife, there was no likelihood that *Mary de Medicis* would ever be prevailed upon to consent to it. However, King *Louis* shewed so great an inclination to attempt this way once again, that they were obliged to make a shew as if they gave him this satisfaction. *Livres*, or some other whom he had employed about it, engaged the Bishop of *Carcassone*, who was then at Court, one of the Deputies in Ordinary from the States of *Languedoc*, to make a new attempt upon the Queen Mother, in a discourse he was to have with her about the Affairs of that Province, and to propose to her the removal of *Conchini* and *Galigai*, as a thing absolutely necessary in the present Conjunction of the Affairs of the Kingdom. This Prelate executed his Commission very dexterously, though he knew nothing of the King's intentions. *Mary de Medicis* being moved by the Remonstrances of the Bishop of *Carcassone*, declared plainly to *Galigai*, that she would do well forthwith to retire out of *France*, together with her Husband.

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Galigai, sure that *Conchini* would comply with it, for he had several times pressed her, even upon his Knees, to avoid the storm that had hung over their heads a good while, prepared in good earnest to depart. The Household Goods were almost all pack'd up, and the Bankers gave her several Bills of Exchange for *Florence*. But the success of the Bishop of *Carcassone*'s Negotiations did by no means please *Luines* his Avarice. He, (as I said before) meant to have enriched himself with the best part of the Fortune of those whom he had resolved to ruin, and this could not be done but by a Forfeiture according to Law; they were therefore forced to proceed to extremity against the *Marechal*, and especially against his Wife, who had had the precaution to divide the Goods and Wealth they had got, and so she had secured the best of their Effects under her Name.

Luines represented to the King that their pretended preparations to retire out of *France*, was nothing but a feint and Contrivance of their own; and that *Conchini*, intoxicated with his fortune, made his brags that they durst not attempt any thing against him to his prejudice. He holds great correspondence with the Court of *Madrid*, added *Luines*. He is an ambitious man, that designs nothing less than to usurp part of the Kingdom, with the assistance which the *Spaniards* have promised to give.

1617.

give him: he is so far from consenting to the Retirement that was proposed to him, that the Mareschal said lately to his Wife and some of his Friends, that he is resolved to try how far his fortune would advance him.

All this was both false and ridiculous, but an Infant was not capable to perceive

Journal de Bassompierre.
*Memoirs de la
Regence de
Mary de Me-
dicis.*

it. They had so frightned the poor King, that the least thing in the world made him tremble. He did not believe himself safe in the *Louvre*, nor in his Mothers Chamber. King *Lewis* was afraid of a man who was under a vehement impatience to be gone. *Conchini* was in a desperate rage at his Wife, who being more ambitious and obstinate than himself, would not yield to go out of *France*, till she had an express order from the Queen her Mistress. At the same time that they were accusing the Mareschal *d' Ancre* for having such vast designs, he was embracing the proposal that was made him, of accepting the Ambafly to the Court of *Rome*, or of purchasing the County of *Mimbelliard*, to retire thither and enjoy his fortune. But his Enemies would not suffer him to take necessary measures, and to order his own affairs.

In the mean time King *Lewis* grew extreme desirous to make a shew at least as if he governed: But his natural timorousness, and some respectful considerations he had for his Mother, made him forbear. Some persons insinuated to him, that he might content himself with all

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the ease in the world. You may Sir, without any more ado declare to the Queen your *Mémoires de Mother*, said they to him, that you are resolved to take the reins of the Government into your own hands, and yet still to make use of her good Counsels. After this you may command the *Mareschal d'Ancre* and his Wife speedily to depart the Kingdom : They will be forced to obey you. King Lewis liked well enough this expedient, which was agreeable to his temper and inclination : But the Expedient did not please his Favourite. *Luines* took a great deal of pains to make his Majesty sensible that this way was not safe. *Conchini* and his Wife, said this covetous and crafty Courtier, have so well concerted their measures, that your Majesty will find you will not be so readily obeyed as they would fain make you believe. Their boundless ambition makes them capable of undertaking every thing. The method they propose to you, is of a dangerous consequence both for the Kingdom and your own Person. 'Tis very easie to discover the cunning of this Favourite. Besides that *Luines* was unwilling to lose a good forfeiture, the presence of the Queen Mother at Court and in the Council, did not at all please him. He was affraid that she would too powerfully oppose the advancement of a man that designed to raise his fortunes upon the ruins of the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, and perhaps that she might quickly find out a way to be reveng'd for the grief they would

1617.

*Mémoires de**Deageant pag.*

43. & 44.

1617.

would bring upon her, by banishing out of France the two persons that she loved the best in it.

A Proposal made to the King, to cause the Mareschal d'Ancre to be Murthered, or to have him delivered into the hands of the Parliament. However, time required haste. The Duke de Mayenne could not avoid being taken Prisoner at Soissons, unless the Mareschal de Bousillon was able to raise the Siege there, and the Duke de Nevers, who was vigorously pressed by the Duke de Guise, was necessitated either to shut himself up in Sedan, or else to fly the Kingdom. To animate the King the more to take a speedy Resolution, *Laines* made use of I know not what little tricks and artifices. He made his Master believe that the Mareschal d' Ancre designed to carry him away by force. The Servants of *Mary de Medicis* saw through these Intrigues, and notified to her that they would shortly make her Son to rise up against her, and would steal him away from her.

Journal de Bassompierre to Bassompierre, her, with his ordinary ingenuity, you do not take enough care of your self: They will take away the King from under your wings. They incense him against your own Creatures; and will in a little time incense him against yourself. 'Tis an easie matter to persuade young persons to emancipate themselves. Your Authority can continue no longer than the King pleases. If he resolves one day to go to St Germain, and command the principal Officers of his French and foreign Troops no longer to own your Authority, what condition will you then be reduced to?

to? As for my self, who am entirely devoted to your Majesty, I shall be obliged to take my leave of you, and most humbly beseech you to give me your permission to obey the King. Judge, Madam, what others will do; I on will be left alone without hands to serve you after so long a Regency. This was good advice: but the blind and imprudent Princess did not know how to make use of it. She fancied that her Son would never have courage enough to withdraw from her Jurisdiction, and set himself at liberty; and that there was no body in the Kingdom that durst take him away from her. *Luines* himself very dexterously deceived her upon that particular. He had two of his own Creatures near the Queen, who under pretence of informing her of all that passed in the King's Closet, and in his most private discourses, told *Mary de Medicis*, it was true indeed that some persons did insinuate into her Son, to remove the Mareschal *d'Ancre* and his Wife, *Mangot* the Keeper of the Seals, and the new Ministers, and from henceforward to govern by himself, and to recall the antient Ministers, who had been employed by the late King his Father, and restore them to their former places. But, Madam, added these deceitful men (amongst whom in all probability *Degeant* was one) we will dexterously manage *Mr de Luines*, and dissuade him from hearkening to those *advices*. *He naturally rejects of himself* the

*Memoires de
Degeant.* pag.

55. 65.

1617.

the Proposals made to him, which he has neither courage nor strength enough to execute. He is a man that aims to raise his fortune by peaceable methods, and to that end to gain the good graces of your Majesty. He has several times given you the marks of his Respect and his Affection to your service.

*Memoirs de
Degeant.*
pag. 53, 54.

The Chancellor de Silleri, Villeroi and Jeannin kept a secret correspondence with Luines, and were continually upon the watch for an opportunity to get themselves again into the management of Affairs. These Gentlemen would most gladly have contributed to the ruin of Conchini, who had removed them from their Places. One thing only kept them reserved. They were afraid that an Intrigue managed with a young Prince, and transacted with a new Favourite of but an indifferent experience in Court-affairs, might be apt to miscarry, and that the Queen Mother and the Mareschal d' Ancre would come to discover their design. Courtiers are never better pleased than when they can be revenged on their Enemies: but they are unwilling to undo themselves, by running too eagerly after vengeance. These three old Ministers of State spoke all in Mystery and hard words. A wicked wretch, whose name was Travail, and was broke upon the Wheel not long after, was Pensionary to Silleri. This wretch, I say, was made use of to carry the sentiments of the Chancellor of France to the King's Fa-

Favourite. But this experienced Magistrate so artfully wrought up his thoughts, and delivered his advices with so much skill and dexterity, that it was almost impossible to have convicted him of being joined in the Confederacy, if so be it had been discovered by the Queen Mother and the Mareschal *d'Ancre*. *Laines* appeared but a Novice to the old Courtiers, yet he made amends for his unskilfulness, by taking their good Counsels. There are never wanting able men at Court to commit a Crime, when they find the doing of it is likely to advance those to a very great fortune, whom they have a mind to employ in it.

Degeant, a man of wit and parts, but without either honour or conscience, had wholly given himself up to *Laines*. He really betrayed *Barbin* his Master, and the Queen Mother; yet made them believe that he deceived both the King and his Favourite. And that *Barbin* should not have any suspicion of him by reason of his being often in *Laines*'s company (who was a declared enemy to the Mareschal *d'Ancre*). *Degeant* told him and *Mary de Medicis*, that the King's Favourite having conceived some sort of affection for him, he would try if he could not become his Confident, and so inform himself of all that passed in the King's Cabinet. He told them whatsoever he thought most likely to lull them asleep: And the Queen Mother, overjoyed

1617. joyed to have some Spies about her Son, encouraged this Traitor by all means to inveigle himself into the favour of *Luines*. *Marillac* was also one of the most intimate confidants of this Favourite, and the same Person who two years ago *Rocafort* had soundly thrashed by the Order of the Prince *de Conde*. His Highness charged him with Treachery in having discovered his secrets to the Queen Mother: and this very same man now betrays *Mary de Medicis*, to insinuate himself into the Kings favour, and to gain the good Graces of *Luines*. *In contriving the design of Mur*
dering the Mareschal d'Ancre, as the Duke *de Rohan* very rightly observes, *none but base and infamous persons could be made use of*. For could one ever imagine to bring honest men into so shameful and heinous a Plot? Let us speak the truth, and fear not. *Luines* made use of several Engines, whereby to bring insensibly his timorous and scrupulous Master into the guilt of consenting to the wicked murder of the unfortunate *Conchini*, and cruelly to banish from the Court *Mary de Medicis*, as an unnatural Mother, that would fain have rid herself of her elder Son, to set the younger upon the Throne. Could not the Covetousness and Ambition of a stranger be sufficiently punished, without engaging a young Prince in Actions unworthy of him, and criminal to the last degree? Had not a King of France Authority enough, to send back *Conchi-*

ni and *Galigai* into *Italy*, as beggarly as when they came out of it, since his Favourite was resolved to enrich himself by the spoils of these two unfortunate persons? Was it so difficult to have them condemned by the Parliament, if they had been guilty of Capital Offences? No man can ever imagin that *Conchini* could be very formidable to a Potent King in the midst of his Dominions. *Henry IV.* brought the Mareschal *de Biron* to condign punishment, who had more Interest and greater Power than this man. Where were the Arms of the Mareschal *d'Anore*? In what place could he have fortified himself? *Quellebeuf* in *Normandy* was fortified by his Orders. But was that place able to hold out long against a Royal Army? He had raised indeed seven thousand men at his own charges; but yet they were all by the King's Commission. Was so small a body as that sufficient for a man universally hated by all the world, to oppose the Army of the King of *France*?

After several Expedients proposed to King *Lewis*, to rid himself of *Conchini* and his Wife, and to invest the King, or (rather let us say) *Luines*, with the Government of the Kingdom, they came at last to a Resolution. There remains nothing more, said some body, but to examine, which of these two ways his Majesty ought to take, either to command some of his good and faithful Servants to assassinate the

*Memoires de
Degeant. p.
44, 45, &c.*

1617.

Mareschal d' Ancre, and after that to shut up Galigai his Wife, if it should not be thought fit to send her back into Italy, or else to deliver them both into the hands of the Parliament, and bring them to their Tryal according to Law.

King Lewis was struck with Terror when this Assassination was proposed. Matters were not sufficiently prepared to obtain his Consent, either expressly or tacitly, to such a base Action. They were therefore obliged to dissemble this first offer for some time, and to make a shew as if they concluded upon the latter Expedient. Luines, or some of his Creatures, in the mean while took care to insinuate still into the King, that the Mareschal d' Ancre and his Wife kept a great correspondence with Spain to the prejudice of the Kingdom. All these Calumnies were to have their effect in due time. Well, said they, we must keep to the second Expedient. The King shall make use of no violent Method: all things shall be performed according to the ordinary rules of Justice. The Papers of the Mareschal and his Wife shall be seized: the Parliament will find therein sufficient Evidence to prove, the secret and close correspondence they have kept with the ancient Enemies of the Crown. Indeed, this is enough to make one lose all manner of patience. What could Conchini and his Wife negotiate at the Court of Madrid so very prejudicial to the Nation? At most they could

coul'l but have discovered some Intrigues to prevent *France* from giving Succours to the Duke of *Savoy* and the Republick of *Venice*. The Queen Mother was still more guilty than themselves. Suppose, if you please, that *Conchini* had laid some mighty designs in his head. That was not made out; but however, pray what Succours could be expect from the *Spaniards*? The *Mareschal d' Ancre* had almost lost all his Interest in *Picardy*, where the Troops of the Arch-duke might have joyned him. The Duke *Longueville* commanded in that Province in the room of *Conchini* his great Enemy, who had been turned out from thence. The *Spaniards* then must have been made to come into *Normandy*: But had the Catholick King a numerous and potent Fleet to convoy thither several thousand Soldiers? He was embarrassed enough in reducing the Duke of *Savoy*, and giving jealousy to the *Venetians*, who attacked the Arch-duke of *Graz*. *Conchini* knew as well as any body the weaknes of the *Spanish* Monarchy; he wanted no Wit, that all the World knew. How then should he be so imprudent as to rely so much upon the powerful Succours that *Spain*, as they said, promised him to invade one part of the Kingdom? According to the reports of his Enemies, this *Italian* was no less formidable to *Lewis XIII.* than the Duke *de Guise* had been formerly to *Henry III.* Such discourses

1617. as these are only fit to be put upon Children.

They had not as yet spoke any thing to him about turning his Mother out of Court; but that Proposal was made some time after at the same Conference, yet in such a manner, as was no ways capable of exasperating King *Lewis*, who paid *Mary de Medicis* a great respect, and he was likewise extremely affraid of her. When the Husband and Wife, said they to him, shall be delivered by your Majesty's Orders into the hands of Justice, it would be fit for you to entreat the Queen your Mother to agree, that you may take the Government of the Kingdom upon your self, that so you may endeavour to rescue it from the imminent danger into which it was fallen by the unmeasurable ambition of the *Mareschal d'Ancre* and his Wife. And for fear the People should imagine there is some collusion in the case, and that your Majesty is not really willing to act by your self, which will give the discontented Party a plausible pretence, not so soon at least to return to their Obedience; you will be pleased, Sir, likewise to desire the Queen your Mother to withdraw her self for some time to one of the Palaces not far from Paris, and to remain there till Affairs be a little better settled, and the Tranquility entirely re-established in the Kingdom; The new Ministers of State to be turned out, and the old ones that had been in your Fathers life time restored to their former places; and after-

1617.

afterwards the Queen Mother to be sent for to take the second place in your Majesty's Council. Thus by degrees they drew the young and credulous Lewis to give his consent to a base murder, to permit the unjust Condemnation of a Woman, as innocent as the rest that are engaged in the Intrigues of a Court full of Factions and corrupted; in short, to treat his own Mother with a haughtiness and cruelty almost beyond example. I find that Luines secretly consulted with *du Plessis Mornai*, concerning the way how the King might rid himself of the Mareschal *d' Ancre*. Honest men are always Enemies to violence. The advice of *du Plessis Mornai* was, that the King should go to the Parliament upon pretence of getting there some Act confirmed, and that sitting on his Throne of Justice, he should command the Mareschal *d' Ancre* to be thrown into the Prison of the Palace, and order at the same time the Magistrates to bring him as soon as possibly they could to his Tryal. But these wise and just Counsels were not agreeable to the designs of *Luines*. 'Tis reported that he was of a mild temper; but he did not shew himself so in the Affair of the Mareschal *d' Ancre* and his Wife, nor in that of the Queen Mother. Perhaps Covetousness and Ambition prevailed with him to defer too much to the violent Councils of *Dezeant*, and some other wicked wretches.

Vie de M. du Plessis Mornai l. iv.

Memoires de la Regence de Mary de Medicis

1617.

*The Artifices
of Luines for
to incense the
King more a-
gainst the Ma-
rechal d'An-
cre and his
Wife, and a-
gainst the
Queen Mother.*

*Sixi Memorie
recondire.
Tom. iv. p.
46, 47.*

It was not only in these private dis-
courses that they so strangely set the
King against *Conchini*, but his Enemies
caused his Majesty also to remember what
this arrogant man had done or said in
some occasions, either through impru-
dence, or out of an unbecoming haugh-
tiness of temper. They did put sinister
and malicious interpretations upon his
Actions and Discourses. Three months
after the death of *Henry IV.* the Mare-
chal d' *Ancre* perceived that the new
King did not love him, and which ve-
ry much troubled him. *Conchini* medi-
tating to find out some way whereby he
might overcome an Antipathy that was
like to be so fatal to him, obtained a
Commission to supply the King with
Money for his Recreation. The Mare-
chal never denied him any, but sup-
plied him plentifully upon all occasions,
to insinuate himself into the King's Fa-
vour. Youth commonly take a kind-
ness to those who furnish them with the
expences necessary for their Diversions.
This opportunity of making his Court to
the King, seemed so fair to the Mare-
chal, that he fancied that by his not
giving him too much at once, should
have more frequent opportunities to
put the King in mind what a pleasure
he took in serving his Majesty. The E-
nemies of *Conchini* failed not to put a bad
construction upon a thing, which was
rather imprudently done, than ill de-
signed.

signed. Young Princes learn but too soon, that either they are already, or at least that they are born to be Masters. Tho' they are but Children, yet they don't love to depend upon those whom Flatterers teach them to look upon as their Slaves. Would not one think, Sir, said some body to him, that what this man gives you is his own? What delight does this proud Italian take to see a King of France, often asking him with some sort of submissiⁿ that which is necessary for his innocent Pleasures and Recreations. He seems to give you with regret what is your own; and at the same time he prodigally plays away several thousands of your Pi-
stoles. One did put the King in mind that p'aying at Biliards with his Majelty, the Mareschal had put on his Hat after he had slightly begg'd his permission to be covered, without ever staying till the King had given it him. Another related that Conchini, sitting in the King's Elbow Chair at Councell, had ordered the Secretaries of State to read the Dispatches, and in such a commanding way, as if he had been their Master. Some took notice that the Mareschal came into the King's Chamber, attended by a great number of Gentlemen, and that his Majelty was left alone, so soon as he had taken his leave of him. Another reflect^d ed after his manner, upon some proud and imprudent words that fell from the Mareschal d' Ancre, relating to the prof-

Relation de
la mort du
Mareschal d'
Ancre a la
fin de l' Hi-
stoire des Fa-
voris.

1617. sers the Duke de Nemours had made of supporting and maintaining him. By God, says Conchini, *M. de Nemours is a fine Gentleman, to offer me his protection, when as he wants mine; but I can't live without him.*

Memoires de L'angeant. p. 49. 1617. Though all these discourses, whether true or false, did extremely exasperate the King against him, however they were not as yet sufficient to prevail with him to take those violent resolutions which they had resolved insensibly to bring him to. *Esynes* was persuaded that his Master would at last come to the last extremities, if once he could but make him apprehensive that the Queen, his Mother, and the Mareschal *d'Ancre* observed him very narrowly, and that they kept him a Prisoner in the *Louvre*. In order to engage *Mary de Medicis*, sometimes to redouble the Guard, sometimes to oppose her Son's going a hunting (which he passionately loved) or to walk, as he was wont to do in the Royal House about *Paris*, they privately advertised the Creatures of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, and the Confidants of *Mary de Medicis*, that the King had a design to fly away to *Soissons*, and put himself there into the hands of the discontented Lords. *Esynes* one evening commanded in the King's name, the Officers of his great and little Stables to get all the Horses ready against midnight to be gone. They made no mystery of this, insomuch, *that*

that the chief Groom knew his Majesty's design was to go to *Soissons*. *Mangot* the Keeper of the Seals was soon made acquainted with the pretended design, and the deceitful *Deageant* was there by chance (or perhaps on purpose) when this news came to him, of the orders given for the secret departure of the King. *Mangot* hereupon was very much perplexed, and did not know what game to play between the Son and the Mother. If he should discover all this to the Queen, then he ran the hazard of incurring the King's indignation for ever, and if he should be silent and say nothing of it to *Mary de Medicis*, who had advanced him to that place, she would certainly turn him out as an ungrateful and perfidious man. *Leave it to me, Sir*, said *Deageant* to him, *I will immediately discover the truth of this matter*. If *M. de Luines* has put the King upon such a Resolution, *I dare engage that I will put a stop to the execution of it*. *Deageant* upon this went to find out *Luines*, and came again and reported, that it was a frolick of youth, and the design was disappointed.

Another time *Cadene* having received some Instructions from *Luines* his Brother, asked leave of the *Marechal d' Amboise* to go and serve at the Siege of *Soissons*, and to take thither with him two Troops of Horse, that quartered in the Castle of *Amboise*, where *Cadene* commanded under his Brother, who was Governor

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vernour of that place. At that very time as *Cadenez* was begging this leave of the Mareschal, *Luines* caused the Queen Mother to be informed, that her Son designed to retire to *Amboise*, and that *Cadenez* sought only a pretence to advance near *Paris* to meet the King, who desired to have a guard to attend him on his way. All these projects of flying this day to *Saissons*, to morrow to *Amboise*, appeared so ill concer'd to *Mary de Medicio*, that she was not much alarmed by these reports. She only took her precautions to prevent the King's going out of *Paris*, till those fancies which (she said) at present heated his Brain should grow cool. They expected mighty Alterations, that the whole face of affairs would be changed after the overthrow of the discontented Party, which seemed not to be very far off now. The punishment of *Luines*, or at least his Banishment from the Court, was deferr'd till a more quiet and convenient time. But the King however was deprived of his liberty, either of going a Hunting, or to his Country-houses. He was confined to divert himself in the Garden of the *Tailleries*; where he employed his time in building of little Forts, and I know not what other like Recreations. This was what *Luines* aimed at: Now by this, said they to the King, you are become an absolute Prisoner. No more Hunting, no more going to your Country-houses. You have not so much as the liberty

berty of going to the Bois de Boulogne: there remains only now to be taken away from you your faithful Servants: M. de Luines will be turned out like the rest: and it won't be long ere this comes to pass. This treatment appeared so harsh and cruel to King Lewis, that from that time he was inclined to hear and believe not only what was said to him against the Marechal d' Ancre, but also against the Queen Mother.

Montpouillant, fourth Son to the Marquess de la Force, was near the King's Person, who had a very particular affection for him. Luines laboured to gain him to his Interest, and met with no difficulty to effect it. Montpouillant was a Reformed; and all the Reformed hated the Marechal d' Ancre. The Marquess de la Force, Goverhour of Bearn, Father to this Montpouillant, was at that time mightily dissatisfied with Mary de Medicis. She supported the Bishops and Clergy of Bearn, who prosecuted the main-levee of the Church-Revenues, a very disadvantageous business to the Reformed of that Province, which then began to make a great noise, and will do so hereafter. Montpouillant so well disposed, through the discontent of his Father, and flattered with the hopes of having his Interest further improved with the King, so soon as the Queen Mother and Conchini should be removed from Court. Montpouillant, I say, joined with Luines in this Confederacy,

At last Mary de Medicis becomes impetuous, and odious to the King her Son.
Journal de Bissompiere.
Vittorio Siri Memorie recondite. Pag.
48, 49, &c.

deracy, and often represented to the King, that by suffering the Queen his Mother to keep him so long under her tuition, he was so far from gaining the Respect of his Subjects, that he made himself very contemptible. They went still further, and told the King plainly, that *Catherine de Medicis* had poisoned *Charles IX.* to set *Henry III.* her beloved Son upon the Throne : They insinuated into *Lewis XIII.* that by the sollicitation of the *Mareschal d' Ancre* and his Wife, *Mary*, who was of the same Nation and the same Family with *Catherine*, intended to do the like in favour of young *Gaston* Duke of *Anjou*, whom the Queen most violently loved ; unless the King, better warned than *Charles IX.* would prevent the execution of so detestable a Plot.

Some men appointed and instructed by *Luines*, enter'd one evening into the King's Chamber with a sad and dismal Countenance : The deep silence they were in for some moments stirr'd up the King's Curiosity to ask them the cause of such an extraordinary sadness, which never ought to come so near the Royal presence : Upon this the men sigh'd most heavily, and gave him to understand that they durst not be so bold as to speak, and that they should run the hazard of losing their own lives, if they discovered to his Majesty the subject of their affliction. King *Lewis*, still more frightned and disturbed than ever, commanded them to speak. At

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last one of the company thus broke silence: Sir, said he, fetching a sigh as low as his heart, *the Inhabitants of Paris are in a very great consternation: Your good and faithful Subjects are afraid, and their fear is for your precious life. They weep and groan: You are in the hands of Italians; and what ought they not to fear from persons, who know so well how to make use of Poyson, to come to the end of their designs?* These Cheats wrought so effectually upon this timorous and credulous young Prince, that he took a strong conceit, that his own life would never be in safety, so long as the Mareschal d' *Ancre* and his Wife should enjoy theirs, and the Queen Mother should continue near him. Therefore he at last consented to the murder of *Conchini*, and the removal of *Mary de Medicis*.

Luines hereupon advised the King to Luines takes his measures to cause the Mareschal d' Ancre to be assassinated. conceal his design as closely as ever he could possible, till the time of their putting it in execution. This precaution was not very necessary: Men naturally timorous and jealous, know well enough how to dissemble. King *Lewis* was full of suspicions, he was affraid that the Mareschal d' *Ancre* and his Wife would murder him themselves, if once they should discover the design, that was hatched against them. The King knew how to keep a secret much better than his Favourite, who wanted discretion almost in all things. *Deageant* complain'd himself that *Luines* talk'd too much.

Memoires de
Deageant.
ed. Pag. 562.

1617.

So soon as the Resolution was taken to arrest *Conchini*, *Luines* acquainted I know not how many persons withit. If this Plot did succeed it was because the Queen Regent and *Conchini*, intoxicated with their own good fortune, too much flattered the King and his Favourite. What Reports soever were made them from several places, yet they could not imagine that a youth of sixteen years of age, and *Luines*, a man of very mean and indifferent parts, should be capable of contriving so great a design, and carrying on so difficult an enterprize with effect. *Mary de Medicis* easily recovered herself from the fears they gave her from time to time, when she saw her Son employ'd himself more than ever in little trifling exercises, unworthy a Person of his Royal Quality, to which he was still too much addicted.

Relation de la mort du Marechal d'Ancre. *Memoires de Deageant.* *Pag. 48, 52, 55, 56, 57.* Contented with setting some Spies over him, to observe his actions, and to prevent his going out of Paris, she lived in a wonderful security, when she was upon the brink of her own misfortune. *Virri*,

Captain of his Majesty's Life Guards, was the man whom they first of all designed should be employ'd in arresting the Marechal d'Ancre. He was one of *Conchini* his greatest enemies. But they resolved not to acquaint *Virri* with it till a little before the execution of the design. But the secret was too great a Burthen for *Luines* to bear, he discovered the whole intrigue to him, that was to be the chief Actor in this Tragedy. *Virri* ask'd leave

to

to send for *D^u Hallier* his Brother, that was at the Siege of *Soissons*, that he might have his assistance upon this occasion. They both acquainted their Relations with it, and those again informed others; so that it became the publick discourse all over *Paris*, that the *Mareschal d' Ancre* would be shortly arrested.

This seemed still more certain, when they saw *Cadener*, Brother to *Luines* come in great haste from *Amboise*. The Queen Mother was always one of the first that was acquainted with every thing that was said. But the Traitor *Deageant* took great care to keep her in her wonted tranquility, and laughed at those who charged *Luines* with a design, so contrary to his own inclination, and infinitely above his strength and his courage. *D^u Bellier*, a Gentleman of *Dauphine* (who wanted no wit) was lately come from his Province to the Court, examining somewhat narrowly into things that passed at the *Loire*, he presently perceived that they were forming a Design of more than ordinary importance, and that the King endeavoured to cover it, by seeming to be taken up about mean actions. *D^u Bellier* advertized *Deageant* his friend of what he thought he had observed. *You art oft with M. Barbin*, said *du Bellier*, and consequently your fortune depends upon that of the *Mareschal d' Ancre*; take heed of your self. I could take my oar they are contriving some way or other how to work

1617. work his ruin. As for my self, who have no dependance on him, I will continue near the Kings person to serve him in case there be need. This good Gentleman did not know yet that his Friend and Countryman, was as great a Villain as ever was. He could not imagine, that the first Clerk of Barbin wculd be one of the chiefest contrivers of the ruine of his Master's Patron. Deageant seemed to laugh at the fancy of his Country-man, who thought he had made a very fine discovery. But *du Bellier*, still more confirmed in his conjecture, waited close on the King; and without having any further certainty than his own imagination, he was attending the King when *Conchini* was murdered. Such was the blindness of this unfortunate Courtier, and the Queen his Protectress. He would not believe a thing which appeared so plainly to a man that was but newly come out of his own Province.

Memoires de Deageant P. 58, 59, 60. The Mareschal d' *Ancre* was in *Normandy* when this Resolution was taken of killing him. His Wife had sent for him in haste, as soon as the Queen, moved by the Remonstrances of the Bishop of *Carcassone*, and some others, had with great and powerful Arguments represented to *Galigai*, that they ought to think of retiring into *Italy*. *Conchini*, well pleased that his Wife at last consented to what he had before several times proposed to her, came to *Paris*, with

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Book X. LEWIS XIII.

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1617.

with a design to get himself ready for his Journey into *Italy*, and to take only some prudent methods for making his retreat honourably out of *France*. But his Enemies were too cruelly bent upon his ruin. They renewed the alarms of the King, upon the sudden and unexpected return of the Mareschal ; for indeed, at his going from *Paris*, he gave out as if he did not mean to come back again for a long time. *Luines* represent-
ed to the King, that if his Majesty did not speedily prevent the fatal designs of *Conchini*, he would be so far from taking upon himself the administration of the Government, that his own life would not be safe. The King, more scared than ever, did himself pres^s both his Favourite and his Confidants, to rid him at last of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*. His fear and impatience were so great, that *Luines* were forced to use some Arguments to bring him again to himself, and to hinder him from acting with too much precipitation.

I find that a base and uninterested proceeding of the Bishop of *Lucon*, did serve for a plausible pretence to *Luines*. The cunning and clear-headed *Richelieu* doubted not but some great Revolution would suddenly happen at Court. He had stuck close to the Interest of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, but it was with a design to raise himself above him, whose Creature he first of all had been. But

having

*The intrigue
of Richelieu
to secure his
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1617. having so happily begun his Fortune, he was unwilling to fall with that man whom he had been so obliged to. This Prelate made use of all his Interest to be continued in his place of Secretary of State, or at least to be in the King's Council. But that could not be obtained without the assistance of *Laines*, who was infallibly to become the dispenser of all the Places and Dignities after the fall of *Conchini*. *Richelieu* ordered *Poncoulai*, a Gentleman of *Bretaigne*, his Brother-in-Law, to discourse *Laines* about him, to proffer him the services of a Bishop, who was more dexterous in the Affairs of the Court, than in those that concerned Religion, and to obtain for him a private Audience of the King. *M. de Lucon*, said *Poncoulai* to *Laines*, has taken upon him the place of *Secretary of State*, which is full sufficient to serve the King, beyond any other person whomsoever. He has observed with an extreme regret, that things have not been well managed, and that his Majesty is dissatisfied with it. The late *M. de Richelieu* his Father, has served the Predecessors of our present King with much Zeal and Fidelity. If his Majesty would be pleased to accept the services of *M. de Lucon*, and receive him into the number of his Ministers, you shall be, Sir, exactly informed of all the Resolutions taken in the Secret Council of the Queen Mother. *Dangeant* managed afterwards an interview of *Richelieu* with

Memoires de
Dangeant P.

48.

Relation de
la mort du
Marechal
d'Ancre.
Lumieres
pour l'Hi-
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France dans
les defenses
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the King and his Favourite. The Prelate repeated the same protestations that *Pontcourlai* had already made, in the name of his Brother-in-law; the Bishop promised to inform them of the most secret designs of *Mary de Medicis* and *Conchini*. The King, well instructed by *Luines*, assured *Richelieu*, that he would continue him in his Employments, and expressed himself as if he was well pleased with his good intentions. The base and perfidious Court Bishop, perceiving that the Authority of the Queen Mother and the *Mareschal d' Ancre* was now declining, came to offer his services to betray his two Benefactors, upon condition that he should be kept in his Employment, for which he was wholly indebted unto them. These first steps of *Richelieu* were of very great service to *Luines*. He heartened thereby the terrify'd King, and represented to him, that he might take his measures with less precipitation, since his Majesty should be henceforward informed of all things by one of the most intimate Confidants of *Mary de Medicis*, and *Conchini*.

This was the way that was first contrived for the assassination of this unfortunate *Italian*: He was forced to wait at the King's *Levee* every morning, one *Luines*, before the assassination of the *Mareschal d' Ancre*. *Switzers Hall*, and shew him a Plan of the City of *Soissons*, besieged by the Duke *d' Angouleme*. *Vitri*, Captain of the Guards

Guards, had orders to come in immediately after, and kill *Conchini*. The day appointed was *Sunday* the 23d of *April*. The nearer the time drew on, the more were the King and his Favourite afraid of this barbarous Fact. The representation of a *Mareschal of France* his being murdered in the King's Closet, and almost in the sight of the Queen Regent, who had been the Protectress of that unfortunate man, struck them with horrour. The difficulty and the consequences attending the execution of it, were still a dread upon them. King *Lewis* seemed to be shut up in the *Louvre* without Forces, Assistance, and any Succour whatsoever, in case he should meet with opposition from the Queen Mother and the *Mareschal d' Ancre*. *Luines*, disturbed with a thousand images that were continually taking up his thoughts, was sometimes for putting off the execution of this murder, the consequences whereof so much terrify'd him. Sometimes he fancied that the surest way was to carry the King to *Soissons*, and to deliver him into the hands of the discontented Lords, who were able to protect him, and to obtain the banishment of *Conchini*. But this Favourite could not endure the thoughts of letting any other besides himself have the Honour of this pretended deliverance of his Master.

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la mort du
Mareschal d'
Ancre.
Memoires de
Desgeant, p.
41.

Cadenet, Brother to *Luines*, had more Courage and Resolution, or I might rather say the crime was less dreadful to him, either from his being more wicked, or more undaunted. *Luines* discovered to his younger Brother in the Garden of the Tuilleries, where the King was diverting himself *à la petite chasse*, i. e. in catching Sparrows with Waryangles, bred up and managed for that sport. How great was the trouble and perplexity both of his Majesty and himself, when they reflected upon the hainousness and consequences of that Barbarity they had designed to put in execution. *I believe* Brother, said *Luines*, *that we need not precipitate things so rashly*. Let us defer it for some time, there is nothing presses us so mightily. What delays are here, replied Cadenet, after his blunt fashion, there is no longer time to consider of it, if this resolution had been only taken between the King and yourself, you might have then put it off longer, and done it another way. But you have acquainted now too many persons with it. *Vitri*, has engaged his word. Suppose then, (and this is not improbable) that out of fear of exposing himself to the revenge and fury of the *Queen Regent* and the *Mareschal d' Ancre*, he should discover the Plot wherein you are both concerned, and which you had not Courage to execute afterwards to them; what will become of us, Brother? These Remonstrances made an effectual Impression upon *Luines*. The

two Brothers went immediately to discourse the King about it, and to hearten him up, upon which his Majesty went out of the Garden of the *Tuilleries*, with a full resolution to cause *Conchini* to be murdered the next day, which was *Sunday*, being the day that had been appointed some time before for that purpose.

The artificial discourse of Cadenet, Luines his Brother, to the King, to encourage him to put his design of murdering the Mareschal d' Ancre in Execution.
Relation de la mort du Mareschal d' Ancre.

Young *Lewis* was extremely troubled all that night. A man of his tender age, that had an horror for the Crime, and did not think himself in safety near his Mother, not amongst his own Servants, could he be without a thousand sad and dreadful thoughts? *Cadenet* went into his Majesty's Chamber, as early as possibly he could, whilst his Majesty was yet in his Bed. He was resolved to encourage the King, and persuade him that there was no time to be lost. Well, *Cadenet*, said *King Lewis* to him, what News? The poor Child being afraid that he was come to acquaint him, that *Conchini*, informed of all their proceedings, had resolved to murder him. No, Sir, answered *Cadenet*, I come only to know how your Majesty sleep to night. Very ill, reply'd *King Lewis*, with all the frankness in the world. A thousand tumultuous thoughts have disturbed my repose, and I know not what to say to my chief Physician, if he should perceive any alteration in my health. But, thanks be to God, I do not feel my self indispos'd. The

Surest

surest way for your Majesty's quiet, Sir, 1617.
said Cadenet more resolute than his Brother, is, speedily to execute what you have resolved on; farther delays will ruin all. I am affraid of it, reply'd the King. If the Queen my Mother, and her wretched Conchini should have once the least suspicion of it, we should not be safe our selves here. No doubt, Sir, but they have had already some violent suspicions, said the malicious and crafty Cadenet, who was resolved to animate the young Prince not to retract from that consent they had extorted from him by lyes and hainous calumnies. One of our men watched all last night about the house of the Mareschal d' Ancre, and found they went not to bed there: but a world of people were continually going in, and coming out from thence.

The frights of the King were still increased by this false News, according as his Favourite's Brother had designed they should be. How? said King Lewis, rising half up out of his bed: I will not go this morning to the Queen my Mother; I must know first whereabouts we are. Cadenet did not believe his Master had any thing to be afraid of in the Chamber of *Mary de Medicis*. He advised the King to go as he was used to do, for fear, said he cunningly, the Queen Mother should apprehend some new Jealousies, if you do not go and wait on her as you were wont. But King Lewis was so terrify'd, that he would not consent to see *Mary de Medicis*,

his, unless *Luines* his Favourite would wait upon him, or that that his Guards were at the Chamber door, ready to be call'd in to his assistance, in case the Queen being somewhat informed of this matter, should press too earnestly upon the King to discover the whole Plot to her, and to name those who were engaged in it. *Cadenet* again encouraged the King, whom he found he had too much terrified, and was overjoy'd he that he had got some new assurances from his Majesty, that nothing should ever be capable of extorting from him the least discovery to *Mary de Medicis*; *Very well, Sir*, said *Cadenet* then to him, *I do assure your Majesty, that you shall be this day Master in your Kingdom.* He had spoken more suitably to his own mind, if he had said, that *Luines* and his two Brothers would hereafter govern the Kingdom, which was the thing that those Gentlemen so eagerly laboured at.

The strange security of Conchini.

Their Triumph was deferred for one day longer, the Mareschal *d'Ancre* came too late to the *Louvre*: And the King was at *Mais*, when *Conchini* came out of his house, to go to wait on their Majesties. *Vuri* had sent for so many Gentlemen to come to the *Louvre*, who were seen to carry Pistols under their Cloaks, (a thing that is not permitted in the Kings House) and the Life Guards seem'd rank'd in such a manner, that several people question'd not, but there was a design

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design against *Conchini*. He came into **1617.** the apartment of the Queen Regent, some while after the King was gone to Mass at *Petit Bourbon*. *Viiri* gave imme- Relation de la mort du Marechal d' Ancre. diately notice of it to *Luines*: who drawing near to the King, whisper'd him in his Ear, *The Man is in the Queen Mothers Lodging*, said he to him, *what will you please to have us do? all things are in a readiness.* Miserable Favourite, who inter- rupts his Master at his Devotions, to com- mand a murder to be committed at that same time, that he is present at the most Sacred Mysteries of his Religion! King *Lewis* forbad them to offer the least vio- lence in the apartment of the Queen his Mother. He hoped he should meet again, the *Mareschal d' Ancre* at the *Louvre* af- ter the Mass was ended. The King de- signed to carry him into the *Savitzers Hall*, and there to deliver him to the Captain of his Guards, and the rest of his appointed Murderers. I leave every one to judge of the devotion and atten- tion the King and his Favourite had at Mass. When they ought, according to the principles of their own Religion, to have been meditating upon *Jesus Christ* his dying for their sins, and forgiving his death to his murderers, *Luines* was burn- ing with impatience to go and order the murder of a man, to whom he bore a mortal hatred, and whose fortune was a great obstacle to the raising of his own. The young *Lewis* might be better excused:

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1617. they had perswaded him that there was no other way to rid himself of a stranger, that had raised a Rebellion in the Kingdom, and was contriving how to take away the life of the King. They were both mightily surprized, when they heard that *Conchini* was going out of the *Louvre* at one Gate, whilst they were coming in at another. They were advertized afterwards also by a Note, that there was a Rumour run about that the King had a design to cause the *Mareschal d'Ancre* to be arrested.

Luines trembled for fear lest *Conchini* should have been informed of their design, or at least should suspect any such thing. They endeavoured to find out what he thought, and sent him a man whom he had much confidence in, and thought him to be of his friends. *M. de Luines*, said this Man to the *Mareschal*, *sends now for more Gentlemen to the Louvre*, because he fancies, *Sir*, that you have *some ill design against him*. *A very strange thing!* answered *Conchini*, with great disdain and haughtiness. *Does Luines fancy that I think so much on him, and that I fear him? Alas some body should let him know once for all, that he is so much inferior to me, that I do not believe he is capable of doing me any great mischief, one might then think of murdering men, when they see them in a condition of doing us harm.* This was the true cause of the misfortune of this too presumptuous *Italian*. It could never come

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come in his head, that *Luines* had courage and power enough to make the least attempt upon him. But should he not have been afraid of an enemy that had the freedom of an intimate converse with a King, who was now come of age? Some body had before proffered his service to the Mareschal *d' Ancre* to kill *Luines*, as he was going one night to a Lady of Quality with whom he had an Intrigue. *It shall cost you but six thousand Pistoles*, said they to *Conchini*; *and you shall be delivered from a man that is continually setting the King more and more against you*. The Mareschal rejected this proposition; But was it because such a base and enormous action struck him with horror? Or that he did not think his Enemy worth being at the charges of twenty thousand Crowns to prevent his weak endeavour? Let it be which way it will, yet *Luines* was much more wicked than *Conchini*. He had still more of this false and detestable prudence of Courtiers. A Crime never so black and atrocious seems to them but a just and legal defence, when they think it behoves them to secure themselves against those whom they are pleased to look upon, as men jealous of, or Enemies to their growing Fortunes. I am extreamly sorry to find my self under a necessity here to draw in such black colours, the Grand-father of a Lord, whose Virtue and Merit I have in great Honor and Esteem.

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The Count de Soissons, and the Countess his Mother engage in the Plot to destroy the Marechal d'Ancre.

Cadenet was not only more resolute, but also more cautious than his Brother. Coming to reflect that there was no person of note concerned in their Plot, and that in case any disturbance should happen, either at the Court or in *Paris*, the King would have no Prince of the Blood nor any great Lord about him. He proposed therefore to *Luines* his Brother, that he should try to gain the only Prince of the Blood that was then at Court, I mean the young Count de Soissons. He was as yet (happily for them) at variance with the Marechal d' *Ancre*, though some folks were labouring to accommodate things, and so make them Friends; but *Cadenet*, in conjunction with the King and *Luines*, was to ward off that blow, and still to keep them at odds. He spoke to the Countess de Soissons, Mother to the young Prince, and made several offers, as from the King, in behalf of her Son. In short, he discovered to her the whole design that was laid. I know not whether he went so far with her as to let her into the secret of the Assassination; but however, he told her enough to give her to understand, that they were contriving something that would make a great noise in the World. She offered the King the person of her Son, and six hundred Pistoles she had in ready Money by her. The Countess promised likewise to keep in readiness four or five thousand men, who

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who were at het Command in the Parish of S. *Eustachius*. That was also a precaution that *Luines* took about the places of the City adjacent to the *Louvre*. They secured to themselves the Captains of the Wards; and commanded them to give the Burghesses notice to be in a readiness to appear in Arms at the first Signal. *The King*, said they to them, *will have the Parisians to be his Guard*. *He hath received information that some disaffected people have an ill design they intend to execute in the Louvre*. But ought a King of France to take such mighty precautions to murder in his own Palace, and in the middle of his Capital City, a Stranger, who had no other defence but about fifty Domestick Servants, and most of them Frenchmen, who would not dare to have drawn their Swords, had they once but seen the Officers and Liveries of his Majestie? Was it to be imagined, that the Queen Mother would cause those men to rise in Arms, who were devoted to her Interests, to protect one of her Domesticks against the King, who was her own Son? Would they have obeyed her Commands, if she had ordered them to act against their King who was then at Age, and upon whom their Lives and Fortunes so much depended? Indeed, *Luines* was afraid of himself, and was glad when he made his Master believe that *Conchini* became formidable even to a puissant Monarch.

Memoires de
Deageant p.
67, 68.

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King *Lewis* all the rest of the day very cleverly dissembled the design that was tumbling and rowling in his head, and spent almost the whole day, either in the Queen his Consort's Closet, or in that of *Mary de Medicis* his Mother. The impatience he had of conversing in full liberty with his Favourite, put his Majesty upon finding out some pretence to withdraw somewhat sooner than ordinary. A while after they had a new alarm. One, whose name was *du Buisson*, had it seems orders to enquire diligently into all things that passed in the *Louvre*, and about the House of the Mareschal d' *Ancre*. He sent to *Luines*, to inform him that they were doubling the Guard. The Favourite ran in great haste to his Master. King *Lewis*, who was full of jealousies and mistrusts, fancied that there was a design upon his Life. He went to his Mother, and asked her cunningly enough what was the reason of this new order for redoubling the Guards, without first coming to acquaint him with it. *Mary de Medicis* told him by way of excuse, that they thought he had been asleep. We have been informed, said she to him, that the Cardinal de *Guise* is making some Levies in Paris, in favour of the Rebels. He is to come to morrow to the *Louvre*, and I am of opinion we ought to apprehend him. The King returned from her very well satisfied. He passed that night with as much un-

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uneasiness as he had done the former ; and rose very early the next morning. They commanded the Light Horse of the King's Guards, and some other persons, to be ready to attend the King at the end of the Gallery of the *Louvre*, near the Garden of the *Tuilleries*. *His Majesty*, said they, *designs to go a Hunting*. A Coach with six Horses was brought to the same place. This was only a precaution, that in case they should miss of their blow, King *Lewis* resolved to be gone forthwith out of *Paris*.

On the other side, it was pretended that the King was somewhat indisposed, and had taken Physick, and therefore the great Gate of the *Louvre* was not to be opened, because they would not suffer every body promiscuously to come into the Court. With a little Care and Vigilance *Mary de Medicis* might have presently discovered the whole mystery. Men ordered to be ready near the *Tuilleries* in order to go a hunting ; the great Gate of the *Louvre* to be shut up, that so the King, who had taken a Purge, might not be disturbed by noise ; his Majesty's putting off his going a hunting, one while under pretence that he was to play or set at *Billiards*, another while something else was started up as frivolous ; a great number of men fit for Action sent for, either by *Luines* or *Vitri* to the *Louvre* ; the Guards of the Gate reinforced with many reso-

*Memoirs de
Deageant.*
pag. 61, 62.

1617.

lute Souldiers, for whom they had provided Halbards: All this so plainly shewed some great design to be on foot, that the Queen Regent might easily have discovered the Plot, if she had made but the least Reflection upon what was transacted before her own eyes, and in the sight of all her Creatures. But the good Princess slept as quietly as any body in the world; for her Mareschal and her self had all the time nothing in their heads but how they might secure the person of the Cardinal de *Gnise*. *Conchini*, being wholly taken up with dispersing the discontented Party, was so blind as not to perceive that a design was very plainly carried on against him. And *Mary de Medicis* could by no means imagine that her Son was capable of taking such measures, as to keep her in a kind of Prison, till he should unworthily banish her out of the Court.

*The Mareschal d'Ancre
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entered in the
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In short, the Mareschal d' *Ancre* came to the *Louvre*, about ten a Clock in the morning on *Munday* the 24th of *April*. He was attended both by his own train of Gentlemen, and some others that always follow Favour and Fortune. The great Gate of the *Louvre* was opened to *Conchini*, but they took care to shut it again immediately after he was entred.

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la mort du
Mareschal d'
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A man who stood over the Gate, gave three flourishes with his Hat in the air, which was the Signal that *Viri* had ordered, to acquaint him that the Mareschal

reschal was entered into the *Louvre*. The Captain of the Guards coldly comes out of the *Switzer's Hall*, with his Cloak upon his Shoulders, and his Staff in his Hand. *Du Hallier* his Brother, *Persan*, and some others, dispersed in several places, joined him as if it had been by accident. They went all to meet *Conchini*, without shewing the least affectation, or any premeditated design. Amongst those who waited on the Mareschal, there were some Gentlemen of *Vitri's* Acquaintance. They complimented him, saluted him, and took him by the hand. In the mean while *Conchini* went on beyond the Captain of the Guards, who was kept behind by some civilities which he desired not. *Vitri*, who had lost the sight of him, asked him where is M. the Mareschal *d'Acre*? There he is, said they, pointing at *Conchini*, reading of a Letter. The Captain of the Guards made up to him, and laying his Hand upon the Right-Arm of *Conchini*, I Arrest you, Sir, by order from the King, said he with a haughty and resolute air. Who me! Answered the Mareschal, in a very great surprise. Yet, you yourself, reply'd *Vitri*, holding him by his Arm with all his Strength, and at the same time beckned to *du Hallier*, *Persan*, and others, who were appointed to be his murderers.

Memoires
D'age de p.
64. 65.

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They discharged three Pistols close at him ; and the unfortunate *Conchini* fell to the Ground dead upon his Knees, half thrown back on the Parapet of the Bridge, which was then at the *Louvre*. They basely ran him through with their Swords after he was dead. *Vitri* kick'd him with his Feet, and laid him at full length on the Ground. Proud of this his fine exploit, the Captain of the Guards cried out, *God save the King*, the rest of the murderers did the like as loud as they could roar. The better to colour so base an Action, some said that the Mareschal had laid his Hand on his Sword, and others reported, that two or three persons of his Retinue had actually drawn their Swords. But though it had been true, that *Conchini* and some of his men, in the first beginning of the assault, which the surprize of so unexpected an accident might have occasioned, had made a shew as if they would defend themselves, could they not for all that have arrested *Conchini*, without so barbarously murdering him ? What resistance could either himself or his men have made in the *Louvre* ; They were shut up therein, and surrounded with Men well armed. Why should they dissemble a thing which was as plain as the light at Noon-day ? But *Luines* had resolv'd the murder of his Enemy, and the King, deceived by a thousand false and malicious contrived Reports,

ports, and by devilish calumnies, was prevailed upon to give his consent to an Action, which a Prince should have been so far from commanding, that he ought to have detested and punished with the utmost severity.

This was the Tragical end of *Conchino Conchini*, born of a noble and considerable Family in *Florence*. Having been one of the Retinue to *Mary de Medicis*, when she came over to marry King *Henry IV*. He insinuated himself so dexterously into the heart of *Leonora Galigai*, the new Queen of *France*'s Confident, that he soon gained her affection. Notwithstanding all the opposition of her Mistress, who had but an ill opinion of *Conchini*, because of his Debaucheries, his excessive Love of Gaming, and his foolish and extravagant Expences; yet *Galigai* preferred him before several other offers of greater advantage to her. The flatterers of *Lewis XIII.* and *Luines*, then High Constable of *France*, published a thousand false and impertinent Reports, to blast the memory of a man that was barbarously murdered, and a woman unjustly condemned by the Parliament of *Paris* to dye upon a Scaffold. But sincere and judicious Historians will always do justice to those two unfortunate persons. It can't be denied, but that the Mareschal *d' Ancre* was a very vicious man. His Pride, his Arrogance, and his boundless Ambition,

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1617. raised up powerful Enemies against him. The Passions which he was not able to conquer, nor so much as conceal, were the cause, or rather the pretence of the ruin of this Stranger, whose Riches and extraordinary Elevation, were envied by the Courtiers. But he never was so wicked a man as his Enemies have represented him to be. Most of the French Lords were no better than himself. Those who cried out most against the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, would have been more Insolent, more Covetous, and more Enterprizing than *Conchini*, had Fortune been as favourable to them as she was to him. Let us stand fast to what a Person of Quality has written of him, a long time after the death of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*. He had engaged himself into the Party of his Enemies, tho at first he was one of the most intimate Confidants. *When I reflect*, said he, *upon the death of the Mareschal d' Ancre*, *I can attribute it only to his evil destiny*. He was naturally a well bred person, and had disengaged but very few people. 'Tis not easily to be comprehended, for what all France rose up against him; and I can find out no other reason, but the unhappy posture of the Affairs of the Court, since the death of King Henry IV. The Mareschal was agreeable in his person graceful on Horseback, and indeed in all his other Exercises. He loved his pleasures, and particularly Gaming; his Con-

The Mareschal d' Estrees at the concluding of his Memoirs, entitled, Regence de Mary de Medicis. *France rose up against him; and I can find out no other reason, but the unhappy posture of the Affairs of the Court, since the death of King Henry IV. The Mareschal was agreeable in his person graceful on Horseback, and indeed in all his other Exercises. He loved his pleasures, and particularly Gaming; his Con-*

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versation was sweet and easy, his thoughts were towering and ambitious, and yet he concealed them upon some occasions. He never desired to come to the King's Council. Lewis the XIII. had been often heard to say, that he never suspected they would have murdered the Mareschal d' Ancre. But if it had not been the intention of that Prince, why did he suffer *Vitri* to declare it publickly, that the murder had been committed by an express Order of the King? Instead of rewarding the Captain of his Guards, the King ought to have punished him for having transgressed his Orders in so detestable an Affair. But King Lewis would fain have cleared himself of an Action, for which his own Conscience reproached him so long as he lived.

As soon as the discharge of the Pistols was heard, a man in a great fright went up to the King's Chamber. *They have missed the Mareschal d' Ancre*, said he, *he is just coming up with his men, and their Swords in their hands, you had best, Sir, take care of securing your own Person.* A pitiful trick of *Luines's* contrivance to provoke a youth, and put him upon Action! 'Tis reported, that King Lewis without any consternation, asked *du Bellier* what was to be done upon that occasion. *What you have now to do, Sir,* said *du Bellier*, *since your Majesty shews so much Courage and Resolution is, that you go strait to meet those men, and run them through.*

Commotions in the Louvre and in Paris, after the murder of the Mareschal d' Ancre.

Memoires de Degeant. p. 63, 66.

1617. through the Gars, and even all the Inhabitants of Paris, if they dare be so rash as to resist you. It is very visible that this was a trick played on purpose. The King hereupon calls for his Sword, and comes with into the Great Hall; there

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Mareschal d'
Ancre.

they told him that the Mareschal d' Ancre was killed. The flattering Courtier thereupon extolled the undauntedness and the great Courage of the young Prince. Some body advertised him that it was convenient his Majesty should shew himself to those who were then in the Court of the *Louvre*. Collonel Orzano immediately taking the King in his Arms, lifted him up to the Window, which was otherwise too high for him, and his Majesty shewed himself with a cheerful and smiling Countenance. Those of Luines Party, with great Acclamations, cried, out *God Save the King*, and the whole *Louvre* did the like. Being glad to see himself delivered of a man, who was become so dreadful to him through the insinuations of his Favourite, Lewis told Vitri, who was gravely walking in the Court, and commanding every body to their Posts, and to behave themselves with respect; *I thank you, Vitri, now I am King.* Had he then obtained a Victory in a set Battel over a Competitor, that had disputed the Crown with him? Afterwards going to some other Window, looking upon those places, where some Souldiers were

were commonly posted, the King called out to them, *to Arms, to Arms, Friends.*

Those of the Regiment of Guards immediately posted themselves at all the Avenues of the *Louvre*. Some Officers were commanded to mount and ride through the Streets, to inform the people, and put them into motion. They marched, and run every where crying out, *Vive le Roy, The King now is King.* Can one forbear laughing, when one reads these comical and ridiculous Proceedings! But this is not all yet. The people ran thronging to the Parliament, where the Magistrates were in a wonderful consternation. At the first report of the shooting off of Pistols in the *Louvre*, and of the Gates being shut up, many people fancied that the King had been killed. Whereupon some endeavouring to fly, others to run with all speed to the *Louvre*, they flung one another down like folks out of their wits. The Magistrates among the Croud lost their Square Caps and their Hoods, and they too were running up and down as much frightened as the Populace. Never was the like confusion seen before, and this continued till they were informed that the King was in good health, and rejoicing at the death of a pretended Enemy, who was no longer in condition to do him any harm; and who never thought of doing any thing else, than what all the Courtiers in the world,

1617. world would do, if they were in the same circumstances as the poor unfortunate *Conchini* was.

The grief and disorder of the Queen Mother.

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Lumieres pour l'Historie de France.

The Queen Mother, surprized at the hearing of Pistols discharged in the *Louvre*, bid one of her Maids of Honour look out of the Window, and enquire what was the matter. So soon as she had open'd the Casement, she saw a Captain of the Guards walking in the Court, and seemed as if he was giving out his Orders there, whereupon she asked him the occasion of that disorder. *The Mareschal d' Ancre is killed*, answered *Vitri*, without being any whit concerned. *And who has been his Murderer?* said she. *My self*, answered *Vitri*, as seriously as before: *The King commanded me to do it.* The Lady presently drew in her head, and acquainted *Mary de Medicis* with it. At which news 'tis reported she only said, *I have reigned seven years: I must now think of no other Crown but that of Heaven.* This seems to be a story raised on purpose. Others make her speak with as great moderation, and perhaps with more probability. *I am not troubled that the King hath caused the Mareschal d' Ancre to be murdered*, if he thought it necessary for the good of the Kingdom. But the mistrust he has shewed towards me, in concealing his resolution from his own Mother, gives me a very great affliction. I could easily believe that *Mary de Medicis* expressed herself after some such manner

when

when she was a little come to herself, and recovered from her first disorder ; and that she had a mind to ingratiate herself with her Son, who began now to act like a Master. But I find that the Queen Mother upon the news of the death of *Conchini*, pull'd off all her Head Cloathes, and with her Hair dihevelled, run about the Room, wringing of her hands in a most desperate manner, and was stunn'd at this unexpected blow, when an imprudent Servant of the Household came and told her, that they did not know how to acquaint the Mareschals Wife with this lamentable accident : *Will your Majesty*, continued he, still more like a Sot, *be pleased to acquaint her yourself with it ?* *I have something else to do now*, answered *Mary de Medicis* in a great Rage. *If they cannot tell the Lady-Mareschal that her Husband is killed, they must whisper it in her ears.* Let me hear no more of those persons. *I have told them long since, that they would have done well to return into Italy.* The Queen Mother then exclaimed against the Husband and his Wife. She told the Dutches Dowager of *Guise*, the Princess of *Coni*, and the other Ladies that were at that time about her, how the Mareschal *d'Ancre* had too long deferred his setting out for *Italy*, tho she pressed him to it with great earnestness not to lose any time. *Madam*, answered he to his Mistress ; *The King looks upon me more kindly than ever.* *Do not you trust to that*, replied

1617. reply'd *Mary de Medicis*. The King does not speak all that he thinks.

*The King's
hard treat-
ment of Mary
de Medicis.*

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la mort du
Mareschal d'
Ancre.*
*Vittorio Siri
memorie re-
condire. Tom.
iv. p. 61, 62.*

The Queen Mother, after she had a little reflected upon the present posture of her Affairs, sent *Bressieux* to the King, and desired his leave to come and see him. *I am very busie now*, answered King *Lewis*, *it must be some other time. Tell the Queen my Mother from me, that I shall always honour her, and have for her all the sentiments of a good Son. But God has been pleased to make me a King by Birth, and I will govern henceforward. 'Tis fitting that the Queen my Mother should have no other Guards but my own. But do you make her apprehend my intentions aright.* This last order not having been executed soon enough, according to the desire of the King, or rather of his Favourite, who was resolved to push on this unfortunate Prince to the last extremity, *Vitri* went and disarmed the Guards of *Mary de Medicis*. The Captain at first made some resistance, but the Queen Mother as soon as she heard of it, sent him orders to obey. *Bressieux* came again to the door of the King's Chamber, as if he was returning with the answer of the disconsolate *Mary de Medicis*. She would very fain have seen him, being fully perswaded in her mind, that at the first conversation with him, she could have removed the jealousy and suspicions of her Son. But this was what *Lunes*

ines was most affraid of. The King sent word to *Bressieux*, that he might come in, if he had any thing to say to his Majesty about his own private concerns. But if he comes again from the Queen my Mother, added *Lewis*, bid him not to trouble himself, I will pay my respects to her.

Mary de Medicis commanded *Bressieux* to make a third attempt : He obeyed, but he brought her back no other answier, than what was still more grievous to her than the former. The King threatened withal to send him to Prison. The Princess of *Conti*, who at the first news of this accident, ran in the undress that she was, with all the haste she could to the Queen Mother, touched at the misfortune of *Mary de Medicis*, she desires *Luines* to come to her to a certain place, because she was not in a condition fit to appear before the King ; but it was in vain, that this Lady, who was naturally insinuating, made use of all her wheadling Skill and Eloquence to prevail with the Favourite to engage the King to see his Mother. *Luines* was too jealous that such an enterview as that might be sufficient to ruin all his projects. But yet the Princess would not give over her sollicitation. She made use of another way to address the King, to grant *Mary de Medicis* that small satisfaction, whom so many denials had thrown into the utmost consternation ;

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but King *Lewis* continued still inflexible. In fine, the Princess begged of him that she might be admitted herself to his Audience. The King returned this answer to her Highness, that he should be glad to see her, provided she would come only as from herself. The Princess upon this, seeing there was nothing to be gained over such a stubborn and pre-occupied a temper, went as the rest did to compliment King *Lewis*, but spoke not a word to him concerning Queen *Mary de Medicis* his Mother. The young Queen, *Gaston*, Duke *d' Anjou*, the King's two Sisters, and the other Princesses desired leave of the King to wait on the Queen Mother, but it was denied them in a very harsh and imperious manner. *Montebron*, Ambassador from *Spain*, came to the *Louvre*, with a design to inform himself the best he could of these Transactions. He went directly according to his usual Custom to the apartment of *Mary de Medicis*. *Vitri*, who was still walking in the Court, took notice of it, and cryed out as loud as he could roar, *Where are you going, Sir? You must go thither no more: 'Tis the King whom you ought now to pay your Compliment to.* Did this base murderer design to insult over the misfortunes of a Princess, before whom but a few days ago he trembled?

Whilst

Whilst King *Lewis* treated his Mother with so much haughtiness and severity, he received the Compliments of all the world, upon *his happy deliverance*, occasioned by the death of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, that dreadful Enemy and wicked man, who had resolved to *destroy all the Royal Blood of France*. The young Count *de Soissons* expressed himself after this manner, when he spoke to his Majesty. One could hardly have believed such extravagances, was he not acquainted with the manners of most Princes and their Courtiers. *Gaston*, the King's only Brother, had been to wait on him before the Count *de Soissons*, and was the first who congratulated his Majesty. The Cardinal *d'Guise*, the Duke *de Nemours*, the Chevalier *de Vendome*, the principal Lords, all the Gentlemen of the Court, thronged in emulation to make their Compliments first. In short, the Crowd was so great, that King *Lewis* was fain to get upon his Billiard-Table, to receive with greater ease the Homages that were paid to his Majesty, as if it had been the first day of his accession to the Crown.

The Countess *de Soissons* framed her discourse conformably to the Mind and Soul of the King. Since it is from this happy day, said she to him, that we must reckon the time of the true Reign of your Majesty, I most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give me leave to beg two favours of you, the

*The King is
congratulated
upon the death
of the Mareschal
d'Ancre.*

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la mort du
Mareschal d'
Ancre.*

1617. the permission of going to fetch *M. de Longueville*, who is to marry my Daughter, and the liberty of *M. le Prince*. King *Lewis* immediately gave the Counteis leave to send for the Duke *de Longueville*, upon that condition that he should continue at *St Denis* till fresh Orders. He was not as yet come out of his Government of *Picardy*, by reason of his open differences with the *Mrreschal d'Ancre*, but had withdrawn himself, and gone over to the discontented Party. As to the setting the Prince of *Conde* at liberty, the King answered, that he would speak to his Council about it; an ordinary shift that Soveraigns make use of when they have not a mind to grant what is desired of them. Yet notwithstanding, King *Lewis* made a shew as if he gave some hopes that he would comply, but his Favourite had no mind that *Conde* should so soon come out of his Prison. *Luines* was resolved to make the best of this present juncture, which seemed very favourable to him. He designed to establish his own Credit and Authority, whilst the Queen Mother was not admitted to Court, and the first Prince of the Blood remained in the Prison, where *Mary de Medicis* and *Conchini* had shut him up.

The Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, as great a flatterer, and as ridiculous as any of the rest, seeing that so vast a number of People came to ask for the King's

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Orders, thought that he should wonderfully please him too, in telling him, that his Majesty would for the future have much more trouble and business upon his hands. King *Lewis* seemed to resent ill the flattery of the Cardinal. He had always carried himself as a man devoted to *Mary de Medicis*; and the King thought that *la Rochefoucault* had a mind to insinuate into him, that he liv'd more at his ease and quiet when the Queen Mother had the Administration o' the Government. *It will not be so troublesome to me as you may imagine*, replied King *Lewis* smiling. *I found it much more troublesome for me to play the Child so long as I did.* Was he willing that people should think his seeming to be addicted to childish Diversions and Pastimes, unworthy of a Prince, was only mere Art and Dissimulation? What he replied also to the Compliments that another made him, is almost enough to perswade us that the young King had a mind to pass for a new *Brutus*. *For these six months*, said he, *I have been forced to spend my time in the Tuilleries, about a thousand little Fooleries unbecoming my Quality, but now I will act like a King.* These Repartees were witty, I confess, but there was also more of bounce and vanity in them, than of quality. For we shall see by and by, King *Lewis* will return to his former childishness, and suffer his Favourite in good earnest to act

1617. the King. The Croud was so throng and pressing all the Afternoon, that the King got up again upon his Billiard-Table, sitting upon his new kind of Throne, (which yet did not displease him) he heard all that his Courtiers were pleas'd to tell him, vying who could say most against the Marechal *d' Ancre*. They insulted over the death of this Stranger in the most inhumane manner in the world. Those who were but yesterday cringing and making their servile Reverences before him, to day said what-soever they could think most likely to make the King believe, that he had acted one of the greatest pieces of Policy, that ever was related in History. King *Lewis* took a great deal of pleasure in hearing those idle Stories concerning the Pride and Arrogance of *Conchini*, and he himself also out-did them, and told more than any of the rest;

*The base and
pitiful Flattery
of the Par-
liament of
Paris, upon
the death of
the Marechal
d' Ancre.*

The Parliament of *Paris* behaved themselves yet worse than all of them on that great day, and flattered the King most basely and shamefully. His Majesty sent in the morning *Collonel Ornano* to the Parliament, to acquaint those Gentlemen with the death of the Marechal *d' Ancre*. The Chambers were just upon rising when the Colonel arrived there: the Presidents were gone to the Audit, for Waters and Forests. *Ornano* followed them thither, and there he declared to them *as from the King, that his Majesty had caused the Ma-*
refchal

resabal d'Ancre to be murdered, to sei him-self at Liberty; and he was in hopes that their fidelity would second his good intentions. The first President answered in the name of the whole Assembly, with as much conciseness and respect as possibly he could. He was so very eager in going with the rest, to congratulate the King upon this his happy deliverance, that not meeting with any Coach to carry him, he ran to the *Louvre* on foot. The Chamber met in the afternoon to consult what was best to be done, upon but this unexpected Revolution; it seems the Kings Council did not think it fit to let these Gentlemen have the liberty of taking what Resolutions they pleased. Some were sent to acquaint them in the Kings name, that he desired the Chambers would depute to him some Presidents, and a small number of Councillors; and accordingly three Presidents and seven or eight Councillors were appointed. They were conducted to the King, who most kindly received them. He told them, that having sufficient proofs of the fidelity of his Parliament, he was resolved to take their advice in affairs of moment, and that his Council should declare some matters to them, about which his Majesty would be glad to know their opinion. This is the usual compliment the Court makes the Parliament, whenever they have occasion to make use of them. However, they only advise

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with them upon trifles, or at most but upon some points of Law, and I know not what formalities in their proceedings. We shall see ere it be long an instance of this.

The Magistrates went to the Cabinet, where the Kings Council were assembled. Ought not King *Leris*, who pretended to govern so well by himself for the future, to have met them there; at least on the first day of his Reign, as they were pleased to call it? But his Majesty took greater delight in hearing upon his Billiard-table the flatteries of his Courtiers. *The King*, said they to the Deputies of the Parliament, *would have you to tell him whether you think it necessary to try the body of the Mareschal d'Ancre*. This overture was proposed with a design to cover that murder, by having *Conchini* declared Guilty of High Treason, at a time when he was not in a condition to defend himself. *Luines* thought likewise to find his account in this ridiculous and unjust procedure, and that he should thereby secure to himself the Confiscation of that Mans goods, whom he had thus barbarously caused to be murdered. They demanded also the advice of these Gentlemen upon another particular, which they had in agitation. *Are you of opinion, added they, that the King should send Letters to the Parliament, and in the Provinces, under his great Seal, upon what has this day been transacted?* Upon this

this the Presidents and Councillors desired leave to withdraw for some time, and confer together upon these Propositions that had been made them. The absurdity of the first Proposal was as visible to all men's Eyes at the Sun at noon. May then an Officer of the Crown, or even whom you please, be murdered, and afterwards his dead Carcass be tryed, to conceal the murder and injustice of it, by compelling the Judges to declare the deceased person guilty of High Treason ? Will ever the life of the Subject be safe, if such a process should be allowed in any State ? The Magistrates resolved to return this Answer, that the Mareschal *d' Ancre* being now dead, there was no further danger to be apprehended, and that it was more becoming the Clemency of the King to content himself with what had been done, without making any further enquiries into the Crimes, which the late deceased might be found guilty of.

Matters went on well enough hitherto. Impartial Justice, from which the Chief Magistrates ought not to have deviated, obliged them at least to have spoke with as much Courage and Resolution, as the Mareschal *de Fouillon*. It seemed as if the Court had a mind to make a practice of causing all those to be murdered who stood in their way, and would not come over to them, and whom they could not be otherwise rid of. A cer-

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tain French Gentleman of the discontented Party, that had spoken ill of the Government, had been some time before murdered at *Liege*; 'tis very likely, said they, that this murder was committed by a private Command from the Court. The murderer at least thought his doing it would be some service to the Court. *Bouillon* very judiciously represented to the King at the beginning of this year, that it was a dangerous thing for Kings to imagine, that they could maintain their Reputation and Authority by Assassinations. And ought not the Deputies of the Parliament to have said something like what he did upon this occasion? But in short, let us forgive the silence of these Gentlemen. The blow was struck, and perhaps they thought prudence did not as yet allow them to speak plain. God forbid I should pass by what they added. *The King*, said these base and sanguinary flatterers, *bath caused the Mareschal d' Ancre to be killed*, whose Crimes are notorious. *The consent of his Majesty alone, covers all the wants of Formalities*. *To go about now to make process upon the Trunk of a dead man, would be thereby to call in question the Power of the King*. What do I hear; Good God! Are these who speak so, Magistrates of the first Tribunal of *France*? It would be to call in question the Power of a King! Hath he then a Prerogative to put men to death without due Trial and Process

according to Law? Such are the fatal and detestable consequences of that principle, which allows to Kings an Arbitrary Power, and makes them Masters of the Lives and Fortunes of their Subjects. *The consent of his Majesty alone, covers all the wants of formalities.* By this barbarous and cruel Action, (more fit to be alledged in the Divan of a *Ma-hometan* Sovereign, than in the Council of the most Christian King) they may very well justify the Massacre committed on St. Bartholomew's day. *Charles IX.* pretended that the Crimes of Admiral *de Coligni*, and of all those Brave and and Illustrious *French* Gentlemen whose Throats were cut that day, were still more notorious, than those the *Maréchal d' Ancre* was suspected to be guilty of. And could the bare consent of that inhumane King *cover the want of Formalities?* What reason have those Gentlemen of the Parliament, to suppose that the Crimes of *Conchini* were publick and notorious? They were never proved. He was condemned as being guilty of High Treason, by that very Sentence which was pronounced against the unfortunate *Galigni*, whereby she was condemned to lose her head. But it is to be wished, even for the reputation sake of the Parliament of *Paris*, that the remembrance of that wicked judgment might be for ever obliterated.

The answer of the Magistrates to the second question, was more judicious. *The Mareschal d' Ancre*, said they, *was not a man of such great distinction in France*. *A man whom Favour had raised without any merit of his own, is not worth putting the King to the trouble of commanding his Letters under the great Seal to be dispatched all over the Kingdom*. *'Tis all that could be done, if such a thing had happened to a Prince of the Blood*. *A bare Letter under the Signet directed to the Parliament, and others sent down to the several Provinces, will be more than sufficient*.

*The ancient
Ministers of
State restored.*

The Deputies of the Parliament met with a new Council in the Cabinet, whither the King had sent them. Immediately after the death of the *Mareschal d' Ancre* his Majesty had sent for the ancient Ministers in the time of the King his Father, and some other Counsellours of State whom *Conchini* had removed. *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* came presently to Court. It seems the *Chancellor de Silleri* was not sent for so soon. *Luines* had a mind first of all to oblige *du Vair* to take again the Seals; whether the reputation of this man was better settled than that of the other, against whom they had highly exclaimed, or that the Favourite relied more upon *du Vair*, with whom he had cultivated a Friendship. *Silleri* was not indeed such a man in whom *Luines* ought to put too

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too great confidence. That Chancellour never kept a correspondence with any body, but upon the prospect of his own private Interests ; and he always forsook his Friends, and those to whom he was most obliged, to give himself up to other new ones, so soon as the Party seemed to him to be more sure and more advantageous for his own Fortune. King Lewis received *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* very kindly, he embraced them, and made them a thousand caresses. *I restore you to your Employments*, said the King to them, *and will hereafter take your good advices for the better Government of my Kingdom. Come ye into my Cabinet, and Consult with my other good Servants, about the measures I ought to take in this present Conjunction.*

As for the new Ministers, the Creatures of *Conchini*, ^{The Seals are taken from} they were so terrify'd at the news ^{Mangot.} of his death, that none of them thought themselves safe in their own Houses. *Mangot*, Keeper of the Seals, the Bishop of *Lucon*, and *Barbin*, went immediately and hid themselves in the Apartment of *Bressieux*, which was in the Stables belonging to the Queen Mother. They remained there much perplexed; ^{Relation de la mort du Marechal d'Ancre.} and could not tell what Party was best for them to take. Having consulted for some time together, they agreed to send *Brazelone* to implore the assistance of the Queen Mother in their favour. But *Mary de Medicis*, perplexed enough about

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about her own Affairs, gave Barbin good words: But, added she, *I do not know what to say either to the Keeper of the Seals, or the Bishop of Lucon.* The Queen Mother had a greater affection for her Steward than for the two others. She fore-saw by the severity her Son began to use towards her, that having lost her Interest in a moment, she should not be perhaps able to save Barbin; and we shall see hereafter that she could not succeed for him, but that all her Prayers and Tears were ineffectual. *Mangot* and *Richelieu* having no hopes left of doing any thing by the means of *Mary de Medicis*, resolved to venture at all, and go to the *Louvre*, to see what would be the end of their fate. The Bishop of *Lucon*, flattered himself that the King and his Favourite would have some regard to the offers he himself had made them a few days before, and which he had repeated to them by the means of *Pontcourlai*, his Brother-in-law, and that they would both remember the hopes they had formerly given to him.

Mangot came first to the *Louvre*, and went directly towards the apartment of the Queen Mother. *Vitri* perceived him, and told him that he must go no further that way, but tarry there to expect the King's Orders. The Keeper of the Seals took two or three turns in the Court, (very uncertain what he had best to do) in Company with that same

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man who had but just now overthrown the great supporter of his Fortune. *Vi-tri* left him soon after alone, for he was obliged to be here and there, and observe how matters passed. No body was over-fond of pressing themselves into the Keeper of the Seal's Company. He was at a Court, where every one flies from those who have lost their Employments and Interests. Being mad to see the people pointing at him with their Fingers, and that he was exposed to the insulting and upbraiding looks of those who rejoiced at his disgrace, *Mangot* sent to beg leave that he might be admitted to wait on his Majesty. *Lomenie*, the Secretary of State's younger Son, came and told him from the King, that he must immediately go and fetch the Seals, and bring them to him. *Mangot* forthwith obeyed his orders, and came again the last time to the *Louvre*, invested with the marks of that Dignity, wherent he was then going to be deprived. *Vi-tri* met him at the bottom of the Stairs, and asked him in a scornful manner, by way of derision, *Where are you going, Sir, dressed thus up in your Satin Robes? The King hath no further occasion of you now.* On such a day as this, which was for ever to blot the name of that insolent and despicable Gentleman, it was very undecent for him to insult not only the Queen Mother, but all the Friends of that man whom he had caused to be

1617. murdered. The afflicted *Mangot* most humbly answered, that he was bringing again the Seals which the King had demanded of him. Thereupon they gave him leave to go up to the Great Hall, where he was forced to wait a long time exposed to the scoffs and railings of all that passed by. His vexation and anguish was so great, when he saw both *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* in all their glory to be called to the Council, that not being able any longer to endure the sight of his triumphing Enemies, he on a sudden turned his head the other way, as if he had a mind to look out at the Window. *Luines* came at last and demanded in the King's name the Seals from *Mangot*. *Now we have the Seals*, said King *Lenis*, as if he had been the most pleased man in the whole World, *we will likewise have the Finance*. The poor *Mangot* still was forced to pass some melancholy hours at the *Louvre*. Four Guards conducted him to *Virri*'s Chamber: this increased his mortification, but perhaps it made him more easily forget the loss of the Seals. Happy that he came off so cheap, he returned home in the evening well enough contented that he had his dismission so.

Richelieu
Right p of Lu-
con loses his
employments
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of State. *Richelieu*, Bishop of *Lucon*, received at first a very great mortification from the King; but being somewhat bolder than *Mangot*, he went of his own accord, and presented himself to his Maje-

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sty. Well, *M. de Lucon*, said King *Lewis*, sitting still upon his Billiard-Table,
I am at last delivered from your Tyranny. The good Prelate was out of countenance at those words, and whilst he was preparing himself to say something in his own *Justification*, the King bluntly commanded him to withdraw. *Luine* was so transported with Joy, that his Majesty had already forgot the great hopes he had given to *Richelieu* some days before: But he was presently reminded of it, and the heat of his Passion being now much abated, he sent to let the Bishop of *Lucon* know, that tho' the place of Secretary of State was restored to *Villeroy*, yet his Majesty resolved that he should continue one of his Councillours of State, and therefore an Officer was ordered to wait on him as from the King, to the door of the Cabinet, where the Council was then assembled. So soon as *Villeroy* and the ancient Ministers heard that they were bringing in the Bishop of *Lucon*, they proposed so many difficulties, that the Prelate did not care to come into the Council, but stayed without at the door, under pretence of discoursing President *Miron*, being fully convinced that he should be very uneasy in the company of those men that hated him, and who were still afraid of that bold and ambitious Spirit. *Richelieu* very generously feigned as if he renounced his Pretensions;

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Marechal
d'Ancre.
Vie du Car-
dinal de
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ons ; and indeed, to say the truth, it was his best way not to affect to be distinguished from all the rest of the Servants belonging to the Queen Mother. It was thought at that time, and his Enemies reproached him with it afterwards, that this apparent mark of some remaining favour, was a certain evidence and proof, that he had betrayed *Mary de Medicis* and *Conchini*, to get into the good esteem of *Luines*.

Barbin
arrested.Relation de
la mort du
Mareschal d'
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Barbin was worse treated than the two former. President *Aubri* and *Castille* Intendants of the Finances, were appointed by a Commission to go to his House, to seize his person, and make an Inventory of his Papers and Household Moveables, and to Seal up all. The Commissioners did not meet with *Barbin* at home ; he was still shut up in the Stables of the Queen Mother. Some Archers were ordered to go thither and take his person, and to bring him along with them. They demanded of him all his Writings, not excepting so much as those he had about him in his Pockets, which were all set down in the Inventory, and sealed up. *Barbin*, in hopes that they would by that means be more favourable to him, highly exclaimed against the Mareschal d' *Ancre*, who had all along been his most intimate Friend and Confident. *He was an insufferable man*, said he, *and none could live with him*. *I was so disengaged at his bars* and

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imperious usage, that I had begged of the Queen Mother permission to retire. She refused to grant me that favour, because her Majesty was afraid she should see herself forsaken by all her Servants. This is the temper of Courtiers. Yesterday *Barbin* adored *Conchini*, and to-day, now the King had caused him to be murdered, the same *Barbin* openly rails against that man to whom he was indebted for all his advancements. What sentiments of Honour and Generosity can be expected from such a Wretch as this? From being an Attorney at *Melun*, he had advanced himself by degrees into the publick Farms. And having afterwards by some means got himself into the House of the Queen Mother, he had obtained, at the solicitation of *Conchini* and his Wife, the place of Comptroller General of the Finances. The Interest of this *Barbin*, was once so great, that the Bishop of *Eucon* offered him one of his Sisters in Marriage. Not being contented with having dishonoured his own Character, by taking upon him, against the advice and reproaches of the other Prelates, the Office of Secretary of State, *Richelieu* would fain still have prostituted his own Sister, born of a noble and highly distinguished Family, to a man that was of no Descent or Parentage. This shameful and scandalous Alliance might have served well enough to ad-

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vance the Fortune of the Bishop of *Luccon*, and this was enough to prevail upon an ambitious Court-Prelate. His Sister was very happy in that the Revolution I am now speaking of broke off that unworthy Project, she had not been else the Mother of the first Princess of the Blood. *Barbin* was kept in his own House till he was removed to the Prison called *For l'Eveque*.

*The Mareschal
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*Relation de
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The *Mareschal d'Ancre* his Wife had been arrested some time before *Barbin*. As soon as she heard of the death of her Husband, she had hid her Jewels, as was reported, in the Feathers of her Bed, with hopes to have saved them by her own continually lying upon 'em; but they had no longer any great regard for her. Some men whom *Virri* had sent made her to get up, and they searched every where so well, that the Jewels at last were found. The Soldiers took away even so much as the very Stockings of *Galigai*, so that she had none to put on when she was commanded to dress herself. What must the perplexity of that Lady needs have been, who was then without Stockings and without Money! They had taken away every thing that belonged to her. She sent to borrow some small Money of her Son, and what he gave was laid out to buy some Linnen Stockings for this Lady of a Mareschal of *France*, who had been so richly dressed but the day before.

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They conducted her into the same Chamber where the Prince *de Conde* had been before shut up in the *Louvre*. She bore in her way thither all the affronts of the Insolent Souldiers, and the Insults of some of her Enemis, who flockt to meet her as she paffed along the Streets. Every body bears this Testimony of her, that *Galigai* bore her misfortune, perhaps with too much courage. She was never seen to ſhed a tear, and ſhe ſpoke with decency and without Paſſion. *My Husband has been killed*, ſaid the Lady Mareschal to the Guards. *Is not that enough? Let the King give me leave then to remove my ſelf out of France*. But this was not what *Luines* intended. For that he might get the forſeiture of the Goods of the Husband and Wife, with ſome appearance of Juſtice. *Galigai* was to dye by the hands of the Hang-man, therefore ſhe was afterwards brought from the *Louvre* to the *Baſſilli*.

I do not wonder that on ſuch a day *The Indignities ſheron the Queen Mother.* of unruly licentiousneſs, as well for *Luines* as the murderers of *Conchini*, that they did ſo baſely by the Wife of a Ma- reſchal of *France*. The Queen Mother was but little better uſed. They came into her Chamber without having first obtained her Majesties leave. The Offi- *Lumieres pour l'Hi- ſtoire de France.* cers went even into her Closet, they ſearched under her Bed, and under the Trunks. The Lady of Honour that was then

1617.

Relation de
la mort du
Mareschal d'
Ancre.

then in waiting upon *Mary de Medicis*, frightened (as well she might) at such rude doings, ask'd them the reason why they offered this. *I have orders to see*, answered the Officer, *if there be not some Barrel of Gunpowder to blow up the King, who lies over this Apartment.* One of the doors thereof was immediately walled up. The Draw-bridge which led into the Queens Garden was broke down. All the discourses, and all the motions of the face of *Mary de Medicis* were narrowly observ'd. Madam, said her scared Ladies of Honour to her, *we have just now heard, that the Lady Mareschal d'Ancre is staved.* This was a false Report spread abroad in the *Louvre*, to make people believe that *Galigai* had been us'd as if she was a Sorceress. *Let them alone*, said the Queen to her Ladies of Honour, *those men are capable of doing every thing.* *I have had the honour of being married to the greatest King in Europe: I have govern'd France seven years, whilst my Son was under age.* If God be pleased to permit me to live some time longer, *I will make it my business to obtain a Crown, that shall be much brighter, and more solid* I would with all my heart commend those Sentiments, so becoming a Christian Queen, had they been but deeper engraven in the heart of *Mary de Medicis*. The great ones of this World have in times of adversity these violent fits of Devotion; but Ambition, Jealousy and

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and Anger remove them upon the first occasion : They are too hot to last, the Queen Mother will be soon weary, when she shall have nothing else to do, but only to tell her Beads, and repeat her hours of prayers.

But we will still relate one thing more, which shews the violent hatred and barbarous cruelty of *Luines* and his Creatures against all those, who did belong to the unfortunate *Conchini*. He had a very lovely Son, whose temper seem'd to be mild and honest. *I am born to bear the punishment due to my Father's pride*, said he, as they make him to answer those, that exhorted him to submit patiently to the sad condition he saw himself reduced to in a moment. Is not this ingenuity more to be commended and valued, than that of the young Children of *Scjanus*, on the day of the terrible disgrace of their Father and their own death ? They suffered the Guards to use this young *Conchini*, with a barbarity almost beyond example in any Christian Court. They had taken from him his very Hat and his Cloak ; this Usage made him desperate. He Relation de la mort du Marechal d'Ancre. would neither eat nor drink. *Fiesque* took some pity on the misfortunes of a Son, who was innocent of all that was imputed to his Father. He desired his Majesty to give him leave to take into his House a Child, who had the honour to have the late King for his God-father ; King *Lewis* presently consented to it.

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1617. They were careful to conceal from, at or least to disguise to him, the greatest part of the violences and injuries that were committed for some days by the orders of *Luines* and *Vitri*. *Fiesque* went then to fetch away the Son of the *Mareschal d'Ancre*. They gave him a Footmans Hat to wear, and brought him to the Chamber of *Fiesque* in the *Louvre*. The young Queen likewise had Compassion and Tendernels towards the young *Conchini*. She sent him some Sweet-meats; and ordered them to bring him into her Chamber. But can we forgive this Princes one thing? The action does not become a person of her High Quality, who ought always to have some regard for the unfortunate and the innocent. The Queen had been told that *Conchini* danced very prettily; she would needs have him dance in her presence. The poor Child obey'd her Commands: But it was observable that he did his utmost to conceal from her Majesty that grief, which almost overwhelm'd him, on purpose to give the Queen some mark of his complaisance, and the profound respect he had for her.

How the Employments of the Mareschal d'Ancre were distributed. This day, being the 24th of April, which was to some people a day of sadness, and to some others a day of rejoicing at the Court of *France*, was concluded by the distribution of those Employments and Offices that *Conchini* dyed possessed of; which the King gave away

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away as he was going to Bed. *Vitri* obtained the Staff of the Mareschal of *France*, and *du Hallier* his Brother was made Captain of the Guards in his room. Under this present Reign the Mareschals of *France* make all their interests to become Captains of the Guards. But in the time of *Lewis XIII.* that Post of Honour seem'd to be below their Quality. But let us not absolutely blame them neither ; since the Staff of a Mareschal of *France*, is become the reward of a Murderer, and of one that knows how with address and skill to act the part of a Bayliff. This Dignity, which was so eminent formerly, ought not now to be looked upon as a mark of any great distinction. *Philip*

II. King of Spain, having promised to give his Letters Patents of Nobility to that man, who should murder *William Prince of Orange*, this Hero answer'd him with as great wisdom as courage, *If a Gentleman had been guilty of such a Murder, would any man of Honour vouchsafe to have eaten with such a wicked wretch ?* These noble and generous Sentiments were not then in fashion at the Court of *France*. The Lords and Gentlemen were so far from shunning *Vitri* and his Brothers company, that they Congratulated those two Murderers, and applauded them. *Luines* obtained for himself the place of first Gentleman of his Majesties Bed-chamber, the Lieutenancy General for the King in *Normandy*, and the Go- vern-

1617.
Apologie de
Guillaume
Prince d'
Orange.

Relation de
la mort du
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Ancre.

1617. vernement of *Pont de l'Arche*. *Le Chevalier de Vendome* was restored to his Government of the Castle of *Caen*. The late King had bestowed the same upon him; but People were forced to yield up to *Conchini*, whatsoever the *Italian* thought was necessary for him. In short, the King disposed of the Archbishoprick of *Tours*, and the Abbey of *Marmoutier*, which *Galigai*, Brother to the *Mareschal d'Ancre*'s Lady, had had made over to him according to Law; so that they could not deprive him of his benefits, without bringing him to his Tryal. And he was not answerable for the pretended Crimes, that were laid to the charge of his Brother-in-law, and his own Sister. But *Luines* was resolved to force him to resign them whether he would or no; otherwise they would every day be picking up new quarrels against him. This Man, for whom they were labouring to get a Cardinals Cap, thought at least himself very happy to obtain an yearly pension of two thousand Crowns for his two Benefices, that so he might go and live out of the Kingdom with handsomeness.

*The Seals re-
stored to du
Vair.*

Relation de Du Vair had retreated into the House of the *Bernardines* Monks at *Paris*. There he spoke

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spoke like a Philosopher. His design was wholly to spend his time in nothing else, but the reading of Sacred and Prophane Authors. He having taken disgust (at least in appearance) at the Vicissitudes and Intreagues of a troublesom and degenerate Court: This new *Cato* answer'd to the first person who came to him from the King, to tell him that he must prepare himself to take again the Seals, that he most humbly entreated his Majesty to give him leave to enjoy now the sweetness of a private life, which he had with so much passion longed for these many years, and to give the Seals to some other person more capable than himself, to fill up so important and fatiguing a Place. *Manupou*, who had succeeded *Barbin* in his employment of Comptroller General of the Finances, had orders to go and make fresh instances to *du Vair*, and represent to him, that the King was absolutely resolved to have him take again the Seals, and that his Majesty would take it very ill, in case he should deny him in the present juncture of publick Affairs; in a word, that the Seals should be brought again to him within an hour or two. *Lomenie*, Secretary of State, had been sent with a Commission to demand the Seals of *du Vair*, when they were taken from him. The same *Lomenie* made it his interest all that he could, to go and carry them again to him. A man who was seeking all opportunities of advancing him-

1657. himself at Court, did not forget to protest to *du Vair*, that this second Order gave him as much Joy, as the former had caused him grief, for Courtiers never talk otherwise. *Du Vair* received the Seals with a profound acknowledgment, (I will not presume to say with Regret) for we shall see him in a little time departing from that exact probity, he so much seem'd to stand upon. His Complaisance to *Luines*, blasted that fair Reputation he had always had before. Malicious men believed that a Magistrate so careful to cultivate the good graces of this Favourite, could not be over-much dejected, when he saw himself recalled to Court.

The Chancellor *de Silleri* was extreamly mortify'd, that they did not restore to him the Seals, which *Conchini* had taken from him, before they were given to *du Vair*. The Chancellor being delivered of so powerful an Enemy, in whose ruin he had a greater share than *Villeroy* and *Jeannin*, expected that he should be restored to all his employments: But he craftily dissembled his Resentments. *Du Vair* being come to visit him in company with *Villeroy* and *Jeannin*, *I come, Sir, to give you Joy for your happy return into the Kings Council*, said the Keeper of the Seals to him. *My Joy would be compleat, would his Majesty have been pleased to have restored to you, what your Enemies had so unjustly taken from you: But since the Kings pleasure is, that I should take again, what he ought never*

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Sir, as to believe, that the Seals shall scarce be much less at your disposal than when they were in your own hands. I will labour under you, and will be always ready to deliver you the Seals, whenever you shall desire to have them. Silleri answered *du Vair* with the like civility, or rather (to speak truth) with the like dissimulation. He took *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* to be witnesses in what an obliging manner he had spoken of *du Vair*, when it was proposed to give him the Seals at first. *I did always believe, Sir,* resumed Silleri in addressing himself to *du Vair*, *that you were the person in the world, the most worthy and fittest for this great employment : And so far was I from having the least thoughts of taking the Seals again, that I would have made a present of them to you, if I had had them my self : and would have also gladly resigned to you the Dignity of Chancellor.* What tricks are here played by these ancient and grave Magistrates ! Shall Sincerity, which is so necessary to persons of their Station and Quality, never be one of the favourite Virtues of these Gentlemen ?

In order to give some satisfaction to Silleri, *Puisieux* his Son was restored to his place of Secretary of State under *Villeroy* : He had that place before, but it was taken away from him to give to *Mangot*, and to the Bishop of *Lincon* afterwards. Let us a little explain this, which is enough to perplex the Reader,

1617. as to that Place of Secretary of State always enjoy'd by *Villeroy*, taken from, and restored to *Puisieux*; and, in fine, executed by *Mangot* and by *Richelieu*, and all in less than the space of one year. *Villeroy*, an ancient Secretary of State to *Henry IV.* had procured the Reversion of his Office to be given to *Puisieux*, Son to the Chancellor *de Silleri*, and married to the Daughter of *Villeroy*. This Lady being dead, her Father consented that *Puisieux* should have the Reversion, provided he would give after the death of *Villeroy* a certain sum of Money to the Marquess *d' Alincourt* his Son. The disgrace of *Puisieux* followed that of the Chancellor *de Silleri* since the Treaty of *Loudun*. *Mangot* and *Richelieu* alternatively executed the Office of Secretary of State in the room of *Puisieux*, and *Villeroy* received the Salary thereof during all his life. After the death of the Marechal *d' Ancre*, the declared Enemy to the Family of *Silleri*, *Puisieux* was restored to his former post under *Villeroy*: and the Place would in a little while fall wholly to him by the death of his Father-in-law.

*Barbarities
done to the
Corps of the
Marechal d'
Ancre.*

When I reflect on the Circumstances of the downfall and death of *Conchini*, I cannot but observe several great and similar conformities to those of the disgrace of *Sejanus*, that famous Favourite of the Emperor *Tiberius*. There is only one difference which I wonder at, viz. that

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that that Heathen Prince would at least give some colour for his proceedings, and observe some formalities of Law, in the punishment of the ambitious *Sejanus*, who was accused as well as *Conchini*, of having a design to dethrone his Master; instead of that, they never took the least care to make the most Christian King observe any formalities of Law, when they had resolved to rid themselves of a man that was not half so powerful and formidable in France, as *Sejanus* was in the Roman Empire. The consequences of the death of the Favourite of *Mary de Medicis* were also very like that of the punishment of the Favourite of *Tiberius*. As soon as the Mareschal *d'Ancre* was laid dead on the place, some of the appointed Murderers seized upon what he had most valuable about him. One took his Diamond, and another his Sword: This carried away his Scarf, and that his Cloak. The Corps was afterwards carried into a little Room, which served for a Retreat to the Souldiers of the Guard. In the evening they made a general search of him. One Historian relates, that the Mareschal had in his pockets two millions, or thereabouts, in Orders upon the Royal Treasury, and Notes or Bonds upon the Farmers, or Publick Receivers. This is not very probable. What were these Papers good for, said they, thus sealed up in his pockets? That was not ready money: What use could he make of them, if he was afraid of being

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1617. prized? However, he wore over his Shirt a Chain of Gold, whereon was hung an I know not what sort of Relique; yet there was nothing in it enclosed but a little piece of white Linen. They presently cried out *A Spell, an Enchantment.* Some were affraid to touch it, for fear lest the Devil should feize upon them. In all probability it was some sort of a Relique: for, in short, *Conchini* was superstitious.

They perceived afterwards two Issues and two Ruptures in two several places. Is not this proof sufficient, that the Mareschal, worn out by the extravagancies of his youth, was more fit to give the Ladies a disgust to him, than to be able to serve them according to their voluptuous Inclinations? I remember I have read somewhere, that *Mary de Medicis*, who would fain have disswaded *Galigai* from marrying *Conchini*, told her that her Lover was over-run with scul and nasty distempers. The Corps was at last laid in a Sheet that cost but fifty *Sous*, and it was privately buried in the night under the Organs in the Church of *S. German de l' Auxerrois*, near the *Louvre*. A Priest of the Parish was going to sing a Psalm, which is usually done upon such occasions; but those who had caused the Corps to be brought thither by the Kings order, flew in the face of the Priest, and stopt his mouth. *This wretch, said they, does not deserve that any body should pray to God for him.*

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Tom. 4. P. 60.

him. Those had good reason to speak thus, who had not themselves allowed this sinner time to make any Confession of the Irregularities of his life past. Why then did they bury him in a Church? One was no less contrary than the other to the Maxims of their Religion. *If you have a mind to pray to God for the soul of this wretch, say your prayers to your self,* said they to the Priest, who was amazed to see that they would deprive a man whose Corps was buried in holy ground, of what they call the *Suffrages of the Church*. He perceived then that they had stopt his mouth, that all things might be carried on as privately as was possible.

Those who had digged his Grave had taken great care to join again so nicely the Stones that were taken up, that it was hardly to be perceived that any Corps had been buried there lately. The people had quickly notice of it. And I know not whether the Enemies of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, (whose rage was not as yet satisfied,) did not encourage the Rabble to dig his Corps out of the Ground, and to commit such barbarities that were more suitable to Cannibals, than to any Civil and Christian Nation. Some rascally people, informed of his Burying-place, got presently together into the Church. Some did spit, others did stamp with their Feet upon his Grave, and cursed him heartily; Some of these wretches having scratch-

ed about the Stones, perceived presently that they had been taken up, and set in again the night before. The noise was renewed thereupon in such a manner, that some Priests came up to drive away the Mob, whose clamours interrupted the service of the Church. But at last the Priests went out of the Church in a solemn Procession, which is kept every year on the 25th of *April*, singing the Litanies. It was at that time that the Rabble who flocked from all places thither, took their opportunity of digging the Corps out of the Ground, and cry'd out, *God bless the King!* The Clergy being returned from Procession, could not tell how to stop the tumult and confusion, and therefore were forc'd to leave off the service of the Church. The Grand Provost was ordered to go to the Church with some Soldiers, to rescue the Carcass from the hands of the Mob, who were transported with rage and fury. They did adventure too late to make use of the Name and Authority of the King. The multitude threatened the Grand Provost to bury him alive. It did appear afterwards that the Enemies of *Conchini* were pleased to let the people go on. One single Company of the Regiment of Guards had been sufficient to disperse them: And one of those Companies of Guards passing by, the Officers seemed with pleasure to look on those things that ought to have struck

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struck them with Horror, and suffered their Soldiers to give them their Matches to serve for a Rope to hang the Corps of a Marechal of France.

He was then taken out of the Church, and laid for some time exposed before the door of *Barbin's House*, who lodged in the Neighbourhood. The Guards who watch'd him, forced him to look out of the Window, to see the Corps of his Protector. It was afterwards dragg'd about as far as the Bridge called *le Pont-neuf*, and in the way, some brutish Fellows went along striking the Corps as hard as they could with their Sticks. A Gibbet was there set up. Some men convicted of having been aiding and assisting to the discontented Party, had been hanged thereupon, and the Magistrates, as was reported, left the Gallows up there, at the desire of *Conchini*, to fright those who should attempt to make any Insurrection in that City, in a time of Trouble and Civil War. A Foot-man, more insolent and bold than the rest, proffered his service to tie up by the Feet to the Gallows the Corps of a man, said he, who threaten'd to have me hang'd not long ago. *Galigaï* wondering at the noise she heard about the *Louvre*, asked those who were her Warders, what was the matter. 'Tis your Husband whom they are going to hang, said one of them brusly to her. That stunn'd her more than any thing else;

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however, this new accident did not draw a Tear from her Eyes. What she said on this occasion, ought to make her lose the merit of her constancy. There was, according to my Judgment, more of affectation or insensibility in her discourse, than of true courage. *They use him as he deserves*, said the Lady Marechal, speaking of her Husband. *He was a bad man, proud and arrogant*. What need had she to have added that he had not lain with her for two years before, and that she had taken her measures to leave him by the Spring, and to return into Italy? Perhaps she thought thereby to make the Guards, who used her very scurvily, more favourable to her, by being the first that should speak ill of her Husband. If it be so, such a baseness ought not to excuse her. It would have been more pardonable in the young *Conchini*. They forced him likewise to see out of the Window the barbarities done to the Corps of his Father. He fell a crying, and ingenuously related the ill usages he had received both from his Father and Mother. There was no body then secure, unless they spake ill of *Conchini* and *Galigai*. Their Son was forced to do like the rest, for fear that he should more exasperate the brutality of the Soul liers who guarded him.

Can one relate without trembling and horrour, all the Cruelties and Barbarities that were committed in the Streets

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Streets and publick places? They pluckt out the eyes of the Corps of the Mirechal, who was hanged on the Gallows, they cut off his Nose, his Ears, and the Marks of his Sex, his Arms and his Head. The Mob then divided themselves into several Bands, and every one did drag in the Streets some part of the Corps. A man well enough dressed opened his Belly, and having thrust his hand into it, drew it out again besmeared with his Blood, and licked it afterwards. This is not all; another took his Heart, broiled it upon burning Coals, and did eat it, dipping every bit thereof in Vinegar. The Trunk of the Body was dragged to the *Greve*, the *Bastille*, before the House of the Prince *de Conde*, and even before the House of the Mareschal himself. The great fury of the Rabble being over, they burned at last one part of the Corps at the *Greve*, and the other upon *Pont-neuf*. The Gallows set up in those places, served to make the fire. Some wretches gathered the ashes, and sold them by the ounce. The Footman who had tyed up the Corps to the Gallows, held out his Hat, and begg'd for something for having hang'd *Mr the Mareschal*: and the most beggarly people gave him some money. Let us conclude this dismal and horrid Relation, in applying to *Conchini* what an ancient Author has said of *Sejanus*, whose Corps was no less unworthily used.

1617.

But the Heathen Romans, less cruel and less inhumane than the French Christians, did not lick the Blood, nor eat the Heart of that man whose Body they tore in pieces. The next day after the death of a man, whom the favour of *Mary de Medicis* had invested with whatever was most great and eminent in France, there was not left the least part of his Body for burial.

Letters from
the King to
all the G-
overnors of
the Provinces
upon the
Death of the
Marechal d'
Ancre.

Mercure
Français
1617.

The News of the death of the Marechal d' *Ancre* was received in all the Provinces with extraordinary acclamations. They made Bonfires, and hanged the Effigies of the Marechal d' *Ancre*. The people, always dissatisfy'd with those that are employed in the administration of the Government, flattered themselves that all things would go much better under another Ministry. They will in a little while exclaim more outrageously against *Luines*, and his two Brothers, than they have done against *Conchini*, and his Creatures. King *Lewis* was resolved himself to acquaint his Subjects with this agreeable news, in a Letter sent to the Governors of the several Provinces. His Secretaries of State were strangely non-plussed to give a good turn to this Letter, and to justify his Majesty from being guilty of a murder. Let us see how they went about it. After they had made the King to say, that the Marechal d' *Ancre* and his Wife abusing his non-age, and the

power.

power they had over the mind of the Queen his Mother, they had left him only *the bare name of a King*, so that he was forced to dissemble and conceal his good intentions, by pretending that he minded only his diversions, and not the Government of the Kingdom; that several persons had instantly pressed the Queen Mother to consent that the King should hereafter take into his hands the administration of the Government; in short, that the *Mareschal d' Ancre* having hastened his journey from *Normandy*, used his utmost endeavours to hinder the execution of the good and just designs of his Majesty: after this Preface, I say, they bring in King *Lewis* is to add, that being reduced to an unavoidable necessity of securing his own person, and to prevent the general flame wherewith *France* was threatened, he had commanded a Captain of his Guards to arrest *Conchini*. But the *Mareschal d' Ancre* coming to the *Louvre* in his usual manner with a numerous attendance, pursued his Majesty, he endeavoured to make some resistance as well as those who attended him. Whereupon several Pistols were fired, and the *Mareschal d' Ancre* in the bustle was killed on the spot. Those persons who cause Princes to tell such stories and falsities as these, ought they not to be very sure, that the truth of those transactions should never be discovered? For in fine, after this, what

The History of Book X.

must we think of those Letters published upon other Affairs of importance, of which the King thinks himself obliged to inform his Subjects? That they are almost always full of base Equivocations, and dissimulations unworthy of the Majesty of a Sovereign. The Presidents and Councillours of the Parliament of Paris, said to no purpose that *that the consent of the King alone covered the want of formalities*; the Ministers and Secretaries of State durst not presume to make his Majesty publickly to declare, that he had commanded the murder. King *Lenis* concluded his Letter, in giving notice that he would henceforward govern by himself, and deliver his Kingdom out of that extream danger, into which the ill Councils the Queen Mother had followed, had precipitated it.

*The Wife
Letter of du
Plessis-Mornai upon the
Revolution
that happened
at Court.*

Du Plessis Mornai was presently made acquainted with this revolution, which the death of the Marechal *d' Ancre* caused at Court. He thereupon immediately sent *Villarnoux*, his Son-in-Law to Paris, with a Letter to the King. *Du Plessis* in it congratulated his Majesty upon this kind of new Accession to the Crown. They were so well pleased with the Letter from an ancient Servant of the late King, that it was forthwith published in *Paris* by the special Command of his Majesty. *Du Plessis* therein said not one word, either

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of the Queen Mother, or the Mareschal
d'Ancre. He had too great a respect
for the Wife of his good Master; and
it would be a thing unworthy a Noble
and Christian Courage, to insult over
the misfortune of a stranger that had
been so basely murdered. That wise
Gentleman also represented that they
had caused King *Lewis* to insist too much
upon the attempts of *Conchini*, which
ought not to be formidable to a King of
France. *Du Plessis* only commended his *Vie de du*
Majesties taking upon him to be of suffi- *Plessis, Mor-*
cient age, viz. in the Declaration he put *nat, L. IV,*
out, that he would take the Government *Lettres et*
of the Kingdom into his hands. Then, *Memoires du*
with that respectful liberty which so
well becomes an ancient Councillour
of State, he exhorted the young King to
advise with his good and faithful Ser-
vants about the disorders of *France*, to
find out proper Remedies whereby to
redress them, and so to merit even from
the first years of his Reign, the Glori-
ous surname of Father of his People.
Pardon, Sir, an old Servant, added *du*
Plessis, if he makes bold to represent unto
your Majesty, that now is the time you
ought to take care, that your Subjects be
obliged only to your self for the favours you
shall be pleased to grant them hereafter.
Do you prevent the Prayers and Interces-
sion of those who are near your person, to
the end that your Subjects may ensure them-
selves to expect and obtain every thing from
your

1617. your self alone. *Du Plessis* never forgot the Interests of those of his own Religion. He concluded his Letter in humbly beseeching the King that he would be pleased to grant them what they begged with an *unquestionable Right*, and to do it so that those who had assembled themselves upon certain fears and jealousies, might return peaceably and well satisfied into their several Provinces.

The Answer of the King to du Plessis Morat.

His Majesty returned an answer to the Letter of his faithful Servant, in very gracious and obliging terms. *I caused it to be read to me several times*, said King *Louis*, *and am much pleased with the good advice you give me herein, and will be sure to follow it.* His Majesty promised afterwards in the behalf of his Reformed Subjects, not only to give them what was their *unquestionable Right*, repeating the very same words wherein *honest Morat* had expressed himself; but also to load them with his Favours, and make them sensible that he loved all his Subjects without any distinction whatsoever, and added, that he would use them like a King, who was resolved to Reign by *Justice and the good Counsels of his Ministers*. What happened afterwards during the Reign of *Louis XIII*, ought to convince us, that the private Letters of Princes themselves are no more sincere than the Declarations and other Ordinances published under their Names. *Du Plessis* had

Vie de du Plessis Morat L. IV.
Lettres et memoires du même.

had delivered a Memorial to *Villarsaux* to be presented to the King, wherein he explained what he meant by the *Favours* he advised the King to bestow himself of his good will, and not to delay till he was asked for them, *viz.* To set at Liberty the Prince *de Conde*, and to re-call the discontented Lords. The People impatiently desired to see the first Prince of the Blood come out of Prison, since that man was dead, who had been the Author of that violent Counsel. The *Parisians* had sufficiently expressed their Sentiments, by dragging the Corps of *Conchini* before the *Bastille*, where his Highness was shut up, and before the House of *Conde*. But the setting at liberty the first Prince of the Blood, did by no means agree with the Interests of the Favourite, who would fain have now governed more absolutely under the name of his Master, than *Conchini* had done under that of *Mary de Medicis*. But *Conde* was set at large, when the necessity of *Louis's* Affairs obliged the Favourite to sue for the Friendship of the first Prince of the Blood, whom they designed to set up in opposition to the Faction of the Queen Mother, who was very opportunely escaped out of her Civil Confinement.

Da Bleffag gave two other good Counsels to the King, *viz.* to assist and protect the Allies of the Crown, and to advise

with

The History of Book X.

with his most faithful Servants about the Disorders and Grievances of the Kingdom, and what was the best means to redress them. *Laines* relish'd well those advices; which he found agreeable to his designs. They assisted the Duke of Savoy against the Governour of Milan: And the King summoned towards the latterend of this year, what they call in France an *Assembly of Notable men*, to advise about the most proper methods to be taken to reform the Irregularities of the Government, which the Assembly of the Estates General seemed to have increased, instead of having redressed them. One of the first Artifices *Laines* made use of to impose upon the People, was, to take in appearance some measures that were quite contrary to those of the Ministry under *Mary de Medicis*. They exclaimed against the administration of a Princess, who suffered herself to be blindly led, as they alledged, by the Popes Nuntio and the Spanish Ambassador. These complaints were but too well grounded. But we shall see in the Series of this History, that *Laines* resolved to follow (perhaps more than *Mary de Medicis*) the Inclinations of the Court of Madrid. In order to make the world believe, that at the first beginning of his Government, the King resolved to take maxims of Politicks quite contrary to those of the Queen his Mother, whom himself had removed from Court, it was talked o-

Vittorio Siri
memorie re-
condite. Tom.
iv. p. 68.
Relation de
la mort du
Mareschal d'
Ancre.

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penly that they would assist the Duke of Savoy. *Villeroy* had orders to acquaint the Duke de Monteleon, Ambassadour from Spain, that the King was not pleased with his so frequent coming to the *Louvre*, and that his Majesty desired he would content himself with one day of Audience in the week. *Monteleon* answered, that he did not always come to the *Louvre* in the quality of Ambassadour, but as *Maggior-dome* to the young Queen. We do not understand in France that Dignity, replied *Villeroy* very coldly. And from that time *Monteleon* did not meet with the usual Civilities at the Court.

As for the counsel that *du Plessis-Mornai* had given to the King forthwith to recall the discontented Lords, it was resolved upon before *du Plessis* made any Overtures thereof. The Cardinal de *Guise* and the Duke de *Nemours* being come to congratulate the King upon the death of the Mareschal d' *Ancre*, they desired his Majesty to give them leave to carry themselves that welcome news to the Duke de *Mayenne*; but the King did not think that so fit: However, that very same evening he dispatched an Express to *Soissons*, with orders to acquaint the Duke de *Mayenne* of the death of *Concbini*, but to say nothing of it to the Duke d' *Angouleme*, who was besieging the Town. *Mayenne* received with great Respect and Acknowledgment the mark of Confidence and Favour which his Majesty

The Civil War ceases at the first news of the Death of the Mareschal d'Ancre.
Relation de la mort du Mareschal d' Ancre.

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Journal de
Bessompierre.

hosty gave him. He immediately dispatched the Count of *Suzie*, and desired him to present to the King a Letter, by which *Mayenne* delivered *Soissons*, and all the Places of his Government into the hands of his Majesty. Upon this, all Acts of Hostility ceased forthwith on the part of the Besieged; and they suffered those of the King's Army to draw near the Walls without firing upon them. Certain Officers of the Duke de *Mayenne* only cryed out to them smiling, Your Master is dead, and ours has caused him to be murdered. As if the King's Army had been under the Pay of the Marechal d' *Angre*, and the discontented Party had made War for the King's service. The Besiegers did not at first apprehend the reason of this discourse, and the security of the Besieged. A while after the News was published every where. They heard every body crying in the Town, God save the King; Peace is now concluded, and the Marechal d' *Angre* is dead. The Dukes de *Mayenne* and d' *Angouleme* hereupon had some Interviews, and sent one another several Presents of Provisions.

Memoires de
la Regence
de Mary de
Medicis.

Much after the same manner it was with the two Armies in *Champagne*, except in one Circumstance only. The Officers of both Parties talked together, and mutually embraced one another. But the Dukes de *Guise* and *Nevers* did pay no Civilities one to another, refusing both to make the first steps, because of an old grudge

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grudge about. I know not what private concerns. The Dutchess *de Nevers* had defended herself as well as she could in the *Nivernois*, against the Mareschal *de Montigny*, whom the Queen Mother had sent thither with a small Army. But so soon as the Dutchess was informed of the death of *Conchini*, she sent to *Montigny*, to acquaint him that she was ready to receive him, with all the Kings Troops, in the City of *Nevers*, and all the Places belonging to her Husband. *Flanges* came a little while after to make his submissions to the King from the Dutchess. The Lords who served in the Kings Army repaired forthwith to the Court. The posture of affairs was there quite altered, and every one endeavoured to gain the favour of *Luines*. All of them almost abandoned the desolate *Mary de Medicis*, whom few days before they had so much adored. *There are few of those generous Souls to be met with*, says the Duke *de Rohan*, *who will follow in adversity those whom they have honoured in time of prosperity*. *Rohan* was one of those generous Souls. He did not bely himself on this occasion. The Duke desired leave openly to wait on *Mary de Medicis*; for it appeared to him that she had some constancy in her misfortune. *Luines* was extremely displeased at this procedure of *Rohan*. The Favourite already too lifted up did cast some angry looks upon him. The Duke resolved to quit the Court, rather than do.

Mary de Medicis
Duc de Rohan. I. 1.

1617. do any thing that was unbecoming his great courage, did not trouble himself much above the cold reception that *Luines* shewed him. *Bassompierre* reports also that he begged leave to go and pay his Duty to his Benefactress, but that being not able to obtain it, he payed his Respects to her by the means of a *Taylor*, who waited every day as from the Queen Mother, on the *Duchess of Guise* and the *Prince of Conti*.

The King continues still his harsh usage to Mary de Medicis. King *Lewis* continued still inflexible to the Prayers and Tears of *Mary de Medicis*, who was very apprehensive in her confinement of the fault she had committed, in suffering *Luines* to get the ascendant so much over the King, and in supporting so strenuously as she did the *Mareschal d' Ancre* and his Wife, who were universally hated by the great Lords, and all the people. The Queen Mother, perswaded that she was able to prevail upon her Son, if he would but permit her to have some moments of Audience with him, commanded the *Marchioness of Guercheville*, her Lady of Honour, to wait one day on the King as he went through the Court of the *Louvre*, and to try by all the means she could to perswade him to come to the Apartment of *Mary de Medicis*. The *Marchioness* acquitted her self very honourably of her Commission. She came up to King *Lewis* with tears in her eyes, and expressed herself to him in the most

*Vittorio Siri
memoria re-
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iv. p. 63, 64.*

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sensible manner imaginable. Will you, Sir, kill the Queen your Mother with grief? This extreme severity of yours, casts her into such a languishing condition, that we are mightily afraid of the consequences of it. Her health is daily impaired, and if you deprive her any longer of the comfort of seeing you, I don't know but she may dye in our Arms. The Remonstrances and Tears of Madam de Guercheville did not in the least move this young Prince, because he was strongly pre-possessed with what they were continually buzzing in his Ears against his Mother; and he would not so much as allow her to speak with the Director of his Conscience. This will seem somewhat cruel to those who are not acquainted that the Confessors of Princes are commonly more cunning in carrying on Intrigues, than in resolving cases of Conscience.

In the design they had to drive the Queen Mother to the last extremity, they had very good reason not to suffer the good Father *Suffren* to discourse him. The subtle Jesuit would have spoke to him of somewhat else than matters of Devotion. He had appeared to act but very faintly, when he went about to get the consent of *Mary de Medicis*, to remove *Conchini* and *Galgai* from the Court. *Suffren*, not too apt to believe the Revelations of the pretended Servants of God, had pretty well established the minds of the Queen

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Queen Mother in her former Tranquillity, after the fright she had been put into by the Letter that the deceitful De-

ceant had delivered into her hands.

Mary de Medicis proposed to withdraw herself to *Monceaux*, a Royal Palace belonging to her. But no answer was returned her upon that Proposal. *Luines* was resolved to send her further from Court, and to fix her in a place from whence she could not so easily escape. *Bentivoglio*, the Pope's Nuncio, thought that he ought to concern himself for a Prince who had always had a great respect for the Holy Father. He spoke in her behalf to *Villeroy* and the *Chancellour de Sillery*. This latter being discontented that the Queen Mother had taken the great Seals from him after the Treaty of *Loydun*, answered the Pope's Nuncio very coldly, but yet nevertheless protested to him that he was her Majesty's most humble Servant. *Villeroy* seemed to be better affected; but for all that he was still impenetrable. The King said he had a great respect for the Queen his Mother, and he will not be wanting in the Obedience of a Dutiful Son. This is all they could withdraw out of an old crafty Minister of State, who was used all his life time to a profound dissimulation. *Bentivoglio*, vaied *Bartolino*, Resident from the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, joined their Interest in favour of Mary de Medicis; but the cold and

reserved ways of Sillery, Villeroi and Jeannin, who were lately restored to the King's Council, broke all the measures of these two *Italians*. To hear these three old Courtiers talk that they had a great respect and honour for *Mary de Medicis*; that they deplored her misfortune, was a jest, for in examining their proceedings, one may easily judge that they were not at all displeased to see her removed from Court. And indeed to speak truth, they were much perplexed themselves. What could they do with a King so apt to be prepossessed, and so hardly to be prevailed upon when once he was pre-engaged, and with a young man so absolutely bigoted to a Favourite, that had resolved to retain *Mary de Medicis* in the opinion of her Son? King Lewis could never put it out of his head, but that his Mother and Conchini had plotted to poison him, and to set up the Duke of Anjou on the Throne.

Mary de Medicis, tired out with finding herself a Prisoner in a Palace, where but a few days ago, she received the homages of all *France*, resolved at last to retire to *Moulins* in *Bourbonnois*, a Province settled upon her. Lewis was over-joy'd at the hearing of this news. The Queen Mother came of her own accord to the point to which the Favourite designed to bring her. They were extremely pleased that they could now

*Negotiation
about the re-
tirement of
the Queen
Mother.*

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now declare to all the world, that King Lewis had designed only to beseech *Mary de Medicis* to withdraw herself from Court for a few months, till he had established some good order in his Council, and in the Administration of the Government; but that the Queen Mother being grievously incensed at the death of the Marshal *d' Ancre*, and not a little troubled that she had lost her power of Governing, earnestly of herself desired of the King his leave to retire. The Bishop of *Lucon* being mad, that the old Ministers of State would not suffer him to sit in the King's Council, had resolved to reside, not in his Diocese, but near the Queen Mother, during her Exile. This was more agreeable to his Genius, than to go down to the Fens and Marshes of the *Lower Poitou*. Persuaded that she would, some time or other return to the Court, he fed himself with hopes he should be well at last rewarded by a Prince whom he had not forsaken, even in her lowest disgrace. Another thing likewise flattered his ambition, and that was, this Prelate mightily fancied that he should thereby make himself become necessary to the King and the Favourite, by being a Spy over *Mary de Medicis*, who would always be suspected by them, and whose proceedings they were obliged very narrowly to observe. In all his Intrigues, *Richelieu* so dexterously concealed his

Memoirs de
Desgeant, p.

72.

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Game, that the credulous Princes put her whole Trust and Confidence in a man that was resolved to betray her, so soon as ever any better preferment should be offered him.

Therefore he got it proposed to the King, that he might continue near the Queen Mother. *Luines*, who perfectly understood the genius and ways of the man, soon obtained for him the consent of King Lewis. *Richelieu*, said some, is the fittest person in the world to calm the tumultuous Spirit of the Queen Mother, to give her the most necessary Counsels for the Wealth of the State, and to settle a good understanding between their Majesties. But let the worst happen that can, it will be an easie matter to send him into his Diocess, or confine him somewhere else, if the King should not be satisfied with his Conduct. The Bishop of *Lucon* thought he had notably concealed his wicked design, in speaking after this manner to those who negotiated between him and the Favourite: And it was *Deageant* in all probability, Let none expect from me that I will become a Spy in the Court of the Queen Mother, nor that I will inform them of all her Proceedings. No such matter, I will only promise this one thing, that I'll retire into my own Diocess, in case the Queen Mother will not hearken to my Counsels, but will take those Resolutions that shall displease the King. This was enough in all conscience, they very well

1617. well understood what *Richelieu* meant by those words. It was not reasonable to desire of him a positive promise that he wculd be a Cheat and a Traytor. *Mary de Mediceis* was over-joy'd that they would suffer her to carry along with her a man, whose Ingratitude and Intreagues she had not the least suspicion of till it was too late. The good Princess flattered herself that she should be happy enough in having so able and disinterested a Courtier, as might be of great use and service to her in her Exile. It was at this time that the Bishop of *Lucon* perswaded her to make some Overtures to the King about her withdrawing herself from the Court: And *Richelieu* proffered his service to negotiate that matter in the most honourable and most advantageous manner he could for her Interest.

Relation de
la mort du
Marechal d'
Andre.

It was on the first of *May* that this Frelate carried in writing five or six demands which she made to the King her Son, viz. That she might be permitted to retire within two or three days to *Moulin*, or to soine other Town belonging to her Joynture; that she might know whom she should be suffered to take along with her; that the King would give her an absolute power in the place where she was to reside; that he would be pleased to let her know whether she shculd enjoy all her Revenues, or only some part thereof, that so she might regulat the expences of her Family ac-

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cordingly. And that the King would give her that consolation as to see her before their parting. Some say, that *Mary de Medicis* demanded *Ho Barbin* for her Steward. These Overtures of *Mary de Medicis* were well enough received. She did ask first what her Son had not Courage sufficient to declare unto her openly. King *Lewis* answered her by a Writing drawn up in his Council, where her demands presented to him by the Bishop of *Lucon* had been thoroughly debated and agreed upon; the King, I say, therein assured the Queen his Mother, that if the conjecture of the Affairs of his Kingdom would have given him leave, he should have been very glad to have continued his visits to her; That it was not without an extreme grief his being necessitated to deprive himself of the comfort which the presence of his Mother always afforded him; and he was so far from having any design of removing her from Court, that he was resolved in some few days to restore her to that share she ought naturally to have in the Government of the Kingdom. But if the Queen Mother, added they in the Writing, has taken up a Resolution to retire from Court, she may go either to *Moulins*, or to any other Town of the Kingdom, which she shall be pleased to choose. She may command such persons to attend her as shall be most acceptable to her; that she shall have an absolute power not only in the Town, but also in the

1637. whole Province. God forbid that the King should have the least thought of retrenching any of her Revenues; And though they were more considerable than those of the preceding Queen Dowagers (for, in short, they amounted to above eleven hundred thousand Livres per annum) yet the King will with all his heart add to them: He will lessen his own Expences, provided that is not sufficient to maintain the Queen his Mother. King Lewis also promised that he would not fail to see her before her departure: He gave her no positive answer as to that Article concerning Barbin: It was only said in general terms, that the King would do all he could to satisfie her. *Luynes* was not so weak a Politician as to suffer so near her person a man whose violent counsels and penetrating wit he was afraid of.

When I reflect upon this way of negotiating between King Lewis and *Mary de Medicis*, I am more and more confirmed in my opinion, that we have good reason for saying, Princes do own no kindred, and that Interest stifles in them all the sentiments of Nature. For otherwise is it possible to imagine, that a Son and a Mother could treat together with so much cunning and dissimulation? The Bishop of *Lucon* at length ordered it so, as to make the Queen Mother appear satisfied with what had been granted her. She declared her design was to go to *Blois*, until the Castle of *Meulini*, that no body

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dy had dwelt in a long while, could be fitted up and made more convenient for her to lodge in. King *Lewis* consented to it. His Majesty resolved to set out from *Paris* the same day that *Mary de Medici* began her Journey, and to go to *Vincennes* with the young Queen, Relatio that so they might be at liberty to clean la mort the *Louvre*. 'Tis said the King design-Maresct. ed to have his House narrowly searched. Ancre. He was afraid that the Creatures of the Mareschal *d' Ancre* had laid Gunpow-
der in some corner or other, or else had taken other measures to make their at-
tempts upon his life. I do not wonder that a youth of sixteen years of age
should have these impressions, which
they imprinted in him with so much Ar-
tifice and Malignity. But for Princes of
a more advanced age, who boast of their
courage and undauntedness, to be often
seized with such ill-grounded terrors,
as to believe whatsoever a Captain of
the Guards, or any other Officer (who
will make their own advantages by their
timorous and jealous temper) shall re-
port to them about I know not what
Conspiracies against their persons, is
in my opinion a pitiful and ridiculous
thing. The day for the departure of *Mary de Medici* being appointed on Wed-
nesday the third of *May*, the Eve of *As-
tention-day*, she spent the remainder of
her time in getting herself ready for her
Journey.

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Mary de Me-
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for Blois.Journal de
Bassompierre.
Relation de
la mort du
Maréchal d'
Ancre.
Mémoirs de
Duc de Guise.

If it be a Comedy pleasant enough to see a Son and his Mother lodge one above another in the same House, and yet to treat together in Writing, what will it be thought when I shall tell my Reader that they also concerted what the Mother was to say to the Son, and what the Son was to answer the Mother? All was set down in Writing, and communicated on both sides. The Bishop of Luxon carried the Copy of the discourse that *Mary de Medicis* designed to make to the King when she was to take her leave of him. This Writing was read, and gravely examined in the King's Council. *Richelieu* had drawn up the Compliment of the Queen. A flatterer of his master as a most judicious and eloquent piece of Oratory. If we would judge of it by the account which an able man gives us, it had more of the old French Language in it, than of the Polite Style, which began then to be in Fashion at the Court. Perhaps he that has preserved this so studied a discourse, has taken only the sense of it, and has worded it after his own way. Tis certain that *Richelieu* did write extremely well, for what remains of him is finely turned, and with a delicate and ingenious air. However, King *Louis* ordered his Council to draw up what he designed to return in answer to the Queen Mother, and that too was likewise carried to *Mary de Medicis*, and both of them

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them were well enough pleased. As all things were to be well concert'd in an enterviw, negotiated with so much caution, the Son and his Mother agreed, that they should say nothing one to another, beyond what was contained in the two Papers. The Princesses obtained leave to wait upon *Mary de Medicis* on the day of her departure, as soon as she was dressed: but the Lords and the Officers of the Court, were only to pay their humble Reverences to her after the King had taken his leave of her. The Mareschal *de Vitri*, and *Du Hallier* his Brother, were only excepted. The two principal Murderers of the Mareschal *d'Ancre* had orders not to appear before a Princess, whose Favourite they had killed, and over whom *Vitri* seemed to have insulted with the utmost Insolence, as well as the greatest Pride and Pleasure.

All the Court was in suspence. Every one impatiently expected the conclusion and success of this great and famous Interview between the Son and the Mother. When the King came from Dinner, *Lewis* went down to the Apartment of *Mary de Medicis*, with *Gaston* his Brother, Duke of *Anjou*. The King held *Laines* by the hand. *Colinet* and *Branies*, the Favourites two Brothers, did walk before his Majesty, and the Duke *de Chevreuse* and *Bassompierre* followed him. The Anti-chainber of Ma-

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Mary de Medicis was the place appointed for the Interview. The King, and the Queen his Mother, entered into it just at the same time, from two several doors. *Mary de Medicis* used all the endeavours imaginable to shew herself firm and constant; but so soon as ever she perceived her Son, tears gushed from her Eyes like a flood. Being ashamed of such weakness, which she so laboured to overcome, the Queen Mother put her Handkerchief and her Fan before her Face as she was making up to the King, who very gravely advanced up towards her. Then taking him aside near a Window, Sir, said *Mary de Medicis* to him, *I have managed your affairs the best I was able during your minority, and since you were pleased to intrust me with them upon your coming of age. If the success hath not been answerable to your Expectation, and any thing has happened contrary to your intentions, I am sorry for it. But believe me, Sir, it was not for want of my good will; I would have satisfied you, had you acquainted me with your desires. I am very glad you are now pleased to take the Government of your Kingdom into your own hands; and I pray God to bless you, and bestow upon you all sort of Prosperities. I thank you for the leave you have given me to retire to Blois, and for the other things you have been pleased to grant me. I hope you will be satisfied with what I have done hitherto for*

for you, and that you will use me like a good Son and a good King. As for my part, I will be always your most humble and most obedient Mother and Servant. Madam, answered King Lewis, with a cold and serious Air, I am perswaded you have managed my Affairs with all possible care and affection. I am very well pleased with what you have done, and I thank you for it. You have desired to go to Blois, and I have consented to your desire. If you had been willing to continue with me, I would have given you the share that you ought to have had in the administration of my Affairs: And I shall be always ready to do it whenever you please. Believe me, Madam, I shall never be wanting to honour you, to love you, and to obey you as your Son upon all occasions: whatsoever, and I assure you that I will be all my life time your most humble Son.

King Lewis thought he was come to the conclusion of a Comedy, where that part which he was indispensably obliged to act, most strangely puzzled him. He expected that the Queen Mother would now have stoop'd to flattery him, as it had been agreed upon. But instead of that, *Mary de Medicis*, who was resolved to obtain still something further from him at his last farewell, asked him if he would be pleased to give her leave to go from Blois to Montims, as soon as ever that Castle should be repaired. Madam, an-

swered I

swere I the King to her, without being concerned in the least, and still keeping on his affected gravity, You may use your pleasure. It is left for you to choose what Town soever in my Kingdom you shall think the most convenient for you. You shall have there as much power as my self. Being mightily pleased that her Son would enter into some discourse with her, *Mary de Medicis* adventured to make a new Request on the behalf of *Barbin*. Sir, said she to the King, I am a going. Be pleased to let me beg one favour more of you. Reserve *Barbin* my Steward to me. I do not believe you have any design to make use of him your self. The King, surprized at this unexpected Request, for which he was not prepared, look'd stedfastly on the Queen his Mother, without returning her any answer. She press'd it again upon him. Sir, added *Mary de Medicis*; I beseech you do not refuse me this favour. 'Tis perhaps the last I shall ask of you. King *Lewis* replied to her not yet, only continued to shew his Mother a cold and serious look. Seeing she could not get anything out of him, *Mary de Medicis* did stoop and saluted her Son. After the King had made her a very low Reverence, he presently turned away, and went from her.

The Queen Mother, confounded at such an inflexible hardness, kัสed the young Duke of *Anjou*, who said but

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three or four words to her. Then came *Luines* up to make his Compliments. *Mary de Medicis* received him very kindly, and recommended *Barbin* to him. Whilst she was entreating the Favourite to make use of his Interest with his Master, to obtain a thing of no moment, King *Louis* being impatient with so long a discourse, cried out four or five times, *Luines, Luines*. That served to deliver the Favourite out of the Intrigue. He acquainted the Queen Mother, that he was indispensably obliged immediately to wait upon the King, who called him. Then it was that she gave a free course to her Tears. Her Grief was such, that she was not able to cast her eyes upon the Lords and the Officers who waited to pay their Obedience to her. *Mary de Medicis* went presently after into her Coach, attended by the two Daughters of France, the Princesses, and first Ladies of the Court, who waited on her one or two leagues out of the City. It was observed that she caused her Coach to turn away at the end of the *Post-neuf*, to avoid the sight of a magnificent Palace, which she had begun to build in the *Fluxembourg*. King *Louis* was more constant and resolute. He look'd out of the Windows to see his Mother go away, and ran also to the Balcony of the Galerie of the *Louvre*, that he might follow her with his Eyes as long as he could. *The*

The History of Book X,

The Spectacle of a numerous attendance of all the Court, who waited on this afflicted Princess, seemed to be very pleasing to her Son. *Let us go to Vincennes*, said he with a brisk and cheerful air, as soon as he had lost the sight of the Coaches. The King, and the Queen his Consort, did forthwith set out, and the Court continued for a while at *Vincennes*, as King Lewis had designed.

Memoirs de Rohan l. 1.
Journal de Baffompierre.

His harsh and inflexible Proceedings as to *Mary de Medicis*, will seem less surprizing, if I relate here one passage which *Baffompierre* has given us in his Writings, and it will confirm what I have already said concerning the Calumnies wherewith *Luines* and *Monpouillon* had blackened this imprudent and unfortunate Princess in the mind of her Son. This King, who was to govern so well by himself, when his Mother was to be gone from the Court, returned presently to his Childish diversions, so unworthy of his high quality. *Luines* willingly entertained him in that temper. He was well pleased to govern whilst the King passed his time in Drawing, beating the Drum, winding the Horn, and making little Water-works with the Quills of a Pen. Having told *Baffompierre* one day, that he was resolved to begin again to wind the Horn, and spend a whole day in that delicate Exercise; *Luines* said, Sir, answered

swered Bassompierre to him, for that may do you a great deal of harm. Tis said that King Charles IX. broke one of his Teeth in winding the Horn, and that he died of that accident. You are mistaken, replied King Lewis, the difference he had with Queen Catherine his Mother, was the real cause of his Death. If he had not followed the ill advice which the Mareschal Riez gave him, to return to Queen Catherine then at Monceaux, he would not have died so young. Well, Sir, said then Adonponillon, applauding King Lewis with an humble and flattering Grinace, you did not imagine that his Majesty knew so much. No, in good faith, Sir, replied Bassompierre in a great surprize, I did not think that the King was so knowing. Thus they kept Lewis in a perpetual apprehension of the ill designs wherewith they loaded his Mother. Monponillon and the rest represented her to him as an unnatural Mother, capable of poisoning him, and being encouraged by the example of Catherine de Medicis, who had been the death of Charles IX. if one would believe Calumniators. Bassompierre, and the other Courtiers, that observed the strange prejudice of the King against Mary de Medicis, did not so much as name her in his presence. They were afraid that this young Prince would make them feel the effects of his hatred, in case he should once come to imagine, that they still kept up some ill-will for

1617 a Princess, who was represented to him with the blackest and most dismal colours.

The discontented Lords return to Court.

They did not perceive for a long while any alteration in the Court, that the departure of *Mary de Medicis* had caused there. The return of the discontented Lords did more than fill up the vacancies occasioned by her going away. A few days after the death of the *Mareschal d'Albret*, they had agreed amongst themselves to send some body to the King, and to beseech his Majesty to give them leave to return and wait upon him, without mentioning any Abolition or Treaty, as it had been practised at the pacification of former Broils. They ran,

Memoires de la Regence de Mary de Medicis.

I confess, a great hazard; for, in short, these Gentlemen were openly declared guilty of High Treason, and they might have been apprehended and tryed accordingly. But they relied much upon the Favourites being well inclined to them. The *Cardinal de Guise* had kept a great correspondence with *Luis*, during the whole Winter. They hoped also that casting themselves voluntarily into the King's Arms, he would receive them with more gladness and sincerity than after a Negotiation. A Prince does not love to treat with his Subjects; that step seems to him unworthy of the Sovereign Majesty. Impatient to abolish the memory thereof, he sooner or later finds some way to accuse what he thinks has

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has been extorted from him by force. To conclude, the Lords fancied that by returning of their own accord to the Court, immediately after the death of Conchini, both the King and the Publick would in good earnest believe, that those Gentlemen had taken up Arms only to deliver and so preserve his Majesty, and to put a stop to the unjust Tyranny of the Mareschal d' Ancre.

When their demands were examined in the King's Council, the opinions were divided. Villeroi asserted strongly, that it was of dangerous consequence, that those Lords who were guilty of having levied Souldiers both within and out of the Kingdom, to oppose the King, and who had maintained Sieges against the Army of his Majesty, should as it were have their proceedings justified by returning to his person, as if they had really served, instead of having actually rebelled against him. The Majesty of the Sovereign is sufficient to secure him from the attempts of his Subjects, said this old Minister of State. If you suffer them to make any great and frequent attempts upon it, the King will not be secure in the midst of his Kingdom. An unpunished Rebellion makes the People apt to think that Rebellion is not a Crime. The intentions of the Lords, I own, were not altogether culpable. The violence of the Mareschal d' Ancre did put them to extremities. But, in those they have been declared

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Rebels in form of them, and therefore the
Majestie of the King is now concerned
in it. Nor to make at least some shew of
Justice, what is it bid to make men Right
w^r. I would not be thought to go about to
hinder the Clemency which his Majestie
shall be pleased to shew these Gentlemen,
but I would have him require of them, that
they do publicly confess their disobeedi-
ence. That they put their Places and their
Governments into the King's hands. They
may be restored to them, or else have some
other gratifications made them, after they
have in some measure repented the Injury
done to the Majestie of the Sovereign, by
their Declarations, Manifestos, and open
Insolence of his Arms. Villars argued
not amiss. He would have the King so
to act, as that he should be respected and
dreaded in the very beginning of his
Reign. But he did not see that the Fa-
vourite designed to govern under the
name of his Master. Now the begin-
ning of the Reign of a Favourite, is al-
ways different from that of a real So-
vereign. Besides, Louis was mighty
zeal at first to make the greatest Lords
of France his Enemies, and to make them
open their mouths against him, he car-
ried already his Heirs very high. His
Head was working how to marry Ma-
demoiselle de Vendome, Sister to Cesar
the Duke of that name, and natural
Daughter to Henry IV. Somewhat less
Criminal, but farre less Ambitious
than

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than *Seigneur*; the Favourite of *Lewis XIII.* aspired to marry the natural Sister of his Prince, just as the Favourite of *Tiberius*, his thoughts were upon the Daughter-in-law of his Master. With a design to oblige the Duke de *Vendôme*, and by that means the more readily to get his consent to the Marriage, *Luynes* obtained a pass from the Council, that *César* might return to Court, without making any publick submission to the King, or waiting till his Majesty should issue out his Declaration in favour of the discontented Lords, and those who had embraced their party.

This private agreement in behalf of the Duke de *Vendôme* did much advance that of the other Lords. *Lafayette*, who strove to gain their friendship, met with no great difficulty to get over the Kings Council to consent, that the Dukes de *Mayenne* Relation de la mort du Maréchal d'Ancre. and *Nevers*, the Maréchal de *Bonillon* and the rest should return as well as *Vendôme*, and that they should all be equally well treated, according to the distinction of their respective Ranks and Quality. *Longueville* having obtained leave before them to come to Court, married the Princess, Sister to the Count de *Seigneur*, as soon as ever he arrived there. *Vendôme*, *Nevers* and *Mayenne* had appointed amongst themselves a *Rendezvous* at *Dammartin*, to concert there together how they should go to *Vincennes*. They resolved to appear one after another at the Court. *César*, accompanied by the Marquess

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ques de Caenures his Kinsman, was the first who waited on the King. The Duke de Mayenne presented himself about an hour after, and the Duke de Nevers came in last. They were all three very kindly received by the King and Queen, who were extremely pleased to see their Court much fuller, and more shining than it had been for a long while before. I do not find that the Marechal de Bouillon was there. He was at that time very much embarrassed about the Souldiers that were raised in his name in Germany. Those men were resolved they would not go out of France, till they were paid. Bouillon had sent to the Court, with hopes he should have received two hundred thousand Livrs, which he was to pay them. But he was answered from the King, that the Germans ought to apply themselves to those who had taken them into their pay; but that they must without speedily retire from France, unless they had a mind to be cut in pieces. In short, the King commanded the Duke de Guise to fall upon them, in case they were obstinate, and resolved to continue longer in Champagne. We may easily imagine, that the Marechal de Bouillon and the other Lords found out at last some way to content them.

With the Declaration of the King, whereby the Lords were restored to his good Grace, was registered in Parliament the 12th of May. He expressed therein, that the ready

dy submission of those Gentlemen, shew'd
plain enough it was only a desire they had
to defend themselves from the violence,
~~and permission designe of the King of France~~
Ancre,; which had forced them to pro-
vide for their own security, by taking up
Arms ~~illegally~~ to resist the Kings Forces,
which Conchini made use of to oppress them,
~~against the intention of his Majesty~~; that it
being beneath the dignity of the King
to suffer, that his Subjects (instead of
having humbly had recourse to his Pro-
tection) should attempt to resist him by
open force, his Majesty had thought fit to
issue out some severo Declarations against
the Lords; but that those Gentlemen ha-
ving acknowledged their Faults, and implored the Clemency of the King, he be-
ing now better informed of their real de-
signs, and satisfied with their submissi-
ons, revoked all his former Declarations
put out against them, and restored them
to their several Estates, Honours, and
Dignities, which they enjoy'd before.
All the world made severe Refolutions
upon this Declaration of the King. They
thought it was a manifest contradiction
to itself. *The taking up of Arms is not
Illegal*, said some people; and the Lords
are not to be blamed for their not having had
recourse to the Kings protection: For has
he not himself confess'd in the Acts publick-
ed under his own Name, that he was left
in a kind of Slavery, and there was nothing
remained to him but the name of a King?

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The Lord had then very good reason to take up Arms against a Tyrant, who not being contented to go about to oppress them, but usurped also the authority of the King, whom he kept his Prisoner in the Louvre, as His Majesty had Confessed himself. Now are very pleasant, answered others laughing and jocund. It is for you to examine the Edicts and Declarations of Princes with so much vanity and criticism. Those who drew them up, never think of making the King express himself in the exactness of the Schools. Their only business is to make the best show of Justice they possibly can, but their real design is to impose upon the People. That man who drew up the Declaration was perhaps more in the right than M. de Villersoy. How could he imagine, that the King should so much as pretend that he had any design to punish the Lords, after his Majesty had sent such a Letter into the Provinces, and after all the Compliments he had received upon his happy deliverance.

A Commission sent to the Parliament to try the Widow of the Maréchal d'Ancre, and impeach his memory.

Another Act, which was read and registered before the Declaration of the King, in favour of the Lords, was still much more fatal to them. This Act was a Commission that his Majesty sent to the Parliament, in order to try the Widow of the Marshal d' Ancre, and to impeach his memory. As they were supposed to be guilty of High Treason, the Assembly appointed two Presidents and two Commissioners to arraign them, to hear the Witnesses, and make such Informations as

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Relation de
la mort du
Marechal d'
Ancre.

are requisite upon such occasions. *Verre*,
the first President, and *Sagney* President,
as *Mortier* were chosen, together with
Courteau and *Dastillers*, all *Councillors*.
At that time, when it was so dangerous
for every body to declare themselves
friends to *Conchon*, the Courage of those
five *Councillors*, who refused to be pre-
sent at the reading of that Commission
given out on purpose to blast this Memo-
ry, and to put to death the widow of that
man, who had a good effect of them,
whilst he was alive, had something intri-
cate and particularly rare and commen-
dable. They began hildy to intermarch
at the cruel covetousness of *Luines*, who
shewed so great an eagerness to get to
himself the forfeitures of the Estates
of both the Husband and his Wife. Ough
not this petty Gentleman of the County of A-
vignon, said some persons, to be contented
with the place of first Gentleman of the Kings
Bed-chamber, and the Lieutenantcy of Nor-
mandy? The Marechal d'Ancre does not
leave above forty thousand Livres in Lands,
and must a Favorite, whom we shall see
loaded with the Benefactions of his Master,
for such a small master transfix the Memory
of a man to be blashed, and the Lady *Adrea*
refuge of France to lose her *Life* by the hands
of a Common Hang-man? If *Galigai* be
delivered into the Kings bands for the value
of above three Millions of Livres, and up-
wards in Jewels, let *Luines* get them of
the King, and not trouble *an unforseen*.

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1617. ¹ Woman, who desired only to retire into Italy,
 ab oportet ² ubi noscitur ³ ubi sumus ⁴ ubi inserviamus ⁵ ubi
 Tis already given her, that the Trunk,
 wherein were the most secret Papers of the
 Marechal d'Ancre; and especially those
 which concerned his keeping Intelligence with
 Strangers, were carried away by a Valet
 de Chambre of his. How then could the
 Judges try the Memory of Conchini?

Virri takes
the Oath of
Marechal of
France at
the Parlia-
ment.

Vitrorio siri,
Memorie re-
condice.

Tom. 4. P.
96, 97.

People were now much given to re-
 flecting, and all the proceedings of the Court
 afforded subject enough for deep reason-
 ings. Those who had recovered themselves
 from the great prejudices they had con-
 ceived against the Marechal d'Ancre,
 discomfited very coolly upon what they
 had observed. The most penetrating and
 judicious said openly, that instead of one
Conchini, they should in a little time find
 three in the person of *Laines* and his two
 Brothers. They lodged them at the sign
 of the three Kings. What remarks were
 not made upon the King's Declaration in
 favour of the new Marechal de *Virri*, and
 the rest that murdered poor *Conchini*? Af-
 ter they had given an account of his death
 in the same manner, as was set down in
 the Letter sent into the several Provinces,
 his Majesty declared that *Virri*, and all
 those who had assisted him in the execu-
 tion of the Orders given (as was said) for
 apprehending the Marechal d'Ancre,
 shall never be troubled, nor disturbed
 upon the account of the Death of *Conchini*.
 But this was not all, the King went yet
 somewhat further. He resolved that his

Declaration should remain to Posterity, as an advantageous testimony of the important services that *Vitri* and the others had done for his Majesty and the whole Kingdom. *If ages to come*, said they, shall be ever acquainted with the circumstances of this action, which we shall more and more find out every day, they will stand amazed that so open a *Murder* should be look'd upon as a very important service, and that *Vitri* should have deserved the Staff of a *Mareschal of France*, for having performed an action which necessitated him to obtain *Letters of Grace and Pardon*.

Vitri went the 23d of *May* in great *Relation de la mort du Mareschal d'Ancre.*

Pomp and Solemnity to the Parliament, to take the Oath of *Mareschal of France*. The *Count de Soissons*, several *Dukes* and *Peers*, some *Officers of the Crown*, and a great number of *Persons of Quality* were present at the Ceremony. The *Advocate La Marliere* made a most elaborate Speech in commendation of the new *Mareschal*. He gave them a famous Genealogy of the House of *l' Hospital*; 'tis the name of the Family of *Vitri*, allied, as was said, to the ancient *Dukes of Milan* and the *Kings of Naples*. 'Tis very strange, that a man of so great Birth and Family, should not advance himself some other way to the second Dignity of the *Sword* in *France*. The pleading of the *Advocate General Servin* was more remarkable. He began with a long discourse, full of

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vectives against the Marechal *d' Ancre*; Grand-Son, (as *Servin* said) to a Notary of the City of *Arezzo* in *Tuscany*. Besides the baseness of this Declamation, which was every way unworthy the gravity of so considerable a Magistrate, he ought not to have rashly set forth a matter of fact so notoriously false in it self. The Father of the Marechal *d' Ancre* was a Senator at *Florence*, and Knight of the Order of *S. Stephen*. His Grandfather was first Secretary of State to the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, who employed him in several important Negotiations and Ambassies at the Court of *Rome*, to the Emperor, and to the King of *Spain*. These persons descended from one *Conchini*, who was High Constable of the Republick of *Florence*. Yet *Servin* did not only please himself with declaiming against the Dead, but he exclaimed also with more bitterness against those who had adored the fortune of *Conchini*. The Advocate General termed their baseness *Coionnerie*, i. e. a pitiful and cowardly behaviour. This passage might be excused, said some Couriers in whisper to one another, if these grave Magistratus whom we see here, were not for the most part of the number of those infamous Colon, or base men, since its a Coionnerie. After this, *Servin* went on, commending the King for having destroyed a Monster so abominable in *France*: and the Encomiums due to *Viari*, the worthy

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thy Instrument his Majesty had made use of to perform so great an exploit, to be sure were not forgotten. *Mr. the*
~~Admiral~~ *General*, said some malicious men as they were coming from this Ceremony, is a man, whose Learning and Integrity deserve to be had in the highest Esteem. But the greatest men sometimes are apt to forget themselves. Ought he to have been so large in his commendations of the King and the Marechal de Vitri, upon the occasion of a man's being murdered in the Louvre? 'Tis to be feared, that *M. Servin* has done something himself not undeserving the name of Coionnerie.

The Reformed followed the example of the other Subjects of *France*. They thought they were under obligations too of congratulating the King upon his happy deliverance, and his Heroick Courage to prudently concealed in feigning to pass away his time in chillich Plays. This was then the Language *à la mode*. No body came to wait on King *Lewis* without expressing himself after some such manner to his Majesty. He was absolutely resolved to be look'd upon as another *Bruyn*. But worthily to support this great Character, he ought not so soon to have returned to the beating of Drums, winding the Horn, and making little Water-works with the Quills of a Pen. Upon the first hearing of the News of the death of the Marechal,

The Assembly of Rochell sends Deputies to the King after the Death of the Marechal d'Arce.

1617.

Vie de du
Plessis Mor-
nai L. IV.
Lettres et
memoires du
meme.

d'Ancre, du Plessis Mornai sent very wise
Counsels to the Reformed Assembly at
Rochell. He advised them forthwith to
send some of their Body to the Court.
Who knows, said he, but in this present
Conjuncture they may be received as if they
were sent by a legal Assembly? However,
our two general Deputies will make the
Speech, and the others will accompany
them. *Du Plessis* would by no means
have them to congratulate the King,
upon the death of a man so basely and
unworthily murdered in the *Louvre*.
Never could *Du Plessis Mornai* be
brought to such a baseness, though the
most of our grave Magistrates were not
exempt from it. He designed only
that they should make their Compli-
ments to his Majesty upon his taking
the Government of the Kingdom into
his own hands, and that during his
minority, King *Lewis* shewed so great a
Prudence and Virtue. There was some
flattery in it, I do not deny, such is
the misfortune, should I say, of Sub-
jects or of Princes? The most sincere
and upright men, cannot speak to the
Kings of *France*, but they must begin
their Discourses with flattery. If they
should do otherwise, they would be
taxed with some design of having a
mind to distinguish themselves from
all others, and expose themselves to be
ill received for their pains. Flattery
to Princes is just like ordinary Com-
pliment

pliments in the civil way of living amongst private persons; all Discourses begin and are concluded with it. *D^r Plessis* in the last place advised the Assembly to recommend to their Deputies, that they should protest to the King, they never had any other design but to take some precautions against the just occasions of fear, which the ill administration of Government had given to the Reformed Churches, which did not think themselves secure, whilst they beheld the King in danger of losing his whole Authority.

The advice which *d^r Pl^ressis* sent to *Rochell* was well received there. His Reasons for persuading the Assembly to take these measures immediately, were very pressing. There was no ground left to complain further of the ill management of a Woman, nor of the attempts and usurpations of the *Marechal d' Ancre*, nor of his Creatures abusing the minority of the King. The prospect of Affairs looked as if they would be changed. The discontented Party came again to the Court, and every one submitted himself. So that the Reformed Party would be charged with all the hatred; and exposed to be treated like seditious and dangerous men, if they should not break up their Assembly, at a time when the first Lords of *France* came and submitted themselves voluntarily to the King. Some persons

1617. who pitied the misfortune of the Prince de Conde, or were willing to serve him, proposed to the Assembly to beg by their Deputies the liberty of his Highness. But Du Plessis was not of that opinion. This Request, (represented by some as from himself,) woul't only serve to create Jealousy and Suspitions in the King. 'Tis his Majesty's Interest that the Prince should be only indubited for his Enlargement to the bounty of the King. They will never suffer our Churches to keep any strict correspondence with the first Prince of the Blood. If we speak in his favour, we shall obtain nothing, and we shall also have the misfortune of having unprofitably drawn upon our selves the displeasure and anger of the King. This wise Remonstrance could not prevail. Some Ministers and other persons, unexperienced in the Affairs of the Court, pretended to be more wise than one of the most penetrating Councillours that ever was. They commanded their Deputies humbly to beg of the King the liberty of the Prince de Conde. But they were not admitted to his Majesty's Audience. The King caused the Deputies to be informed that he could not hear them, until they had first broke up their Assembly at Rochell. But for fear the Reformed should be alarmed at this, they gave them hopes that they should have some favourable answers returned to their Cahiers.

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All France expected that the Prince de Conde would not be long before he was set at liberty. But his Highness reaped no other advantage by the death of the Mareschal d' Ancre, and the removal of the Queen Mother, but a less severe Imprisonment, and the permission that was given to the Prince his Wife, to be shut up therein with him. Neither was this small favour granted

The Prince de Conde obtains leave to be shut up with the Prince her Husband, who is some time after removed from the Bastille to Vincennes.

till a month after the Revolution happened at the Court. The King sent to acquaint the Prince de Conde, that he would admit her to his presence, whenever she would come to the Louvre. She went presently, accompanied by the Duchesse d' Anjouleme his Sister, and did cast herself at the King's Feet, then she approached to him with tears in her Eyes; and having returned him her thanks for having given her the Honour to wait on his Majesty, the Prince entreated the King to bestow some marks of his Clemency upon the first Prince of the Blood. *And if you do not think fit, Sir, to set him ^{la mort du} in liberty, grant me the favour, added she,* *at least to have my self up in the Bastille with my Husband.* King Louis answered, that he had already declared it to be his design to grant her that favour. *I love M. le Prince and his whole Family,* pursued the King, *and all imaginable care shall be taken of him, till I have put my Affairs in good order. I am very*

Relation de la mort du Mareschal d' Ancre.

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Sorry that they do not allow me as yet to grant him his Liberty. You may assure him as from me, that I will endeavour to content him as soon as I can. His Majesty would have spoken more truly, if he had said that the Interest of *Luines* his Favourite, could not suffer the first Prince of the Blood to come to Court, that would soon be in a condition capable enough of crossing the vast designs of a Gentleman of *Provence*, who, not being satisfied with the spoils of *Conchini*, was further contriving how to render himself still infinitely more powerful than him.

The Princess went that very day to be a prisoner with her Husband in the *Bastille*. There they expected for the space of four months the performance of that promise the King had made to her. But good God what was their astonishment! when they saw that after a whole years Imprisonment, the King made as if he did the Prince a favour in removing him from the *Bastille* to the Tower of *Vincennes*. They made a shew as if they had received this rarity of a favour with the sentiments of a profound gratitude. Strange and hard Servitude this! Must then the first Prince of the Blood be cast into Prison, and there languish for several years, without being able either to demand that he may be brought to his Tryal, or else set at liberty? Ought the

third

third Head of the Kingdom to wait till an ambitious Favourite shall think it fit, for the advantage of his own Affairs, to be reconciled to him by obtaining his Enlargement? What baseness was it in the great Lords of *France* to suffer such an indignity! But this is the Genius of the *French*. Every one minds his own private Interests, without troubling themselves about the attempts made upon the publick Liberty. Princes and great Lords leave all things to be transacted by the Ministers and Favourites, provided they be careful but to satisfy them. They never embarrass themselves about the dangerous consequences of such violent proceedings. But if it be permitted to use thus the Princes of the Blood, what is it that they will not do to those of an inferiour rank, whensoever a malicious Enemy shall be able to seduce the King to believe, that his Majesty ought for the good of the Kingdom, *i. e.* for the better settling of his Arbitrary Power, to secure their persons? And if a Prince of the Blood shall patiently suffer other Subjects to be treated thus, why should he think it strange that he should be sent himself into Prison, and be kept there as long as his Majesty pleases? The Quality of Prince of the Blood does not take away that of Subject: It only gives certain Priviledges, certain marks of Honour and Distincti-

1637. on. Tyranny is quickly established, when all the Members of the State do not unanimously conspire to the maintaining of the common Liberty. After the oppression of Princes and great Lords comes next that of the People.

The Parliament tries the memory of the Marechal d' Ancre and his Wife.

Relation de la mort du Marechal d' Ancre.

Let us conclude the last Act of this Tragedy, concerning the unfortunate Marechal d' Ancre. 'Tis compleated with the Tryal made upon his Memory and his Widow, and with the blasting of their only Son, who was degraded from being Noble, and declared incapable of holding any Place or Dignity in France. Ought a poor Child who was born in France, to be involved in the condemnation of his Father and Mother, unless they had been found guilty of the Crime of High Treason? But let us not seek for any Equity and Reason, in a procedure where there is nothing but Violence, Injustice, and Corruption. The Lady Marechal was first examined at the Louvre, by President *Aubrie* and by *le Baileul*, Master of the Requests, about the Jewels and the Estate she possessed. 'Tis reported that she said, she had delivered into the hands of the King to the value of twelve hundred thousand Crowns in Jewels. The summ seems to be exorbitant. Those of the Queen Mother amounted not to so great a value. At her Examination in the Parliament, *Galigai* answered, that she had about two hundred thousand

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Ton. 1. P. 85.
Journal de
Bassompierre.
sand Crowns, or thereabouts in Jew-
els, and about twenty thousand Crowns
in Plate ; that her Jewels were given her
by the bounty of the late King, the
Queen Mother, and the late Duke of
Mantua, Brother-in-law to *Mary de
Medicis*. The Mareschal d' *Acre* had
given a little before his death, an ac-
count of all his wealth to *Bassompierre*,
wherein he valued his Jewels, Movea-
bles and Plate to about one million ;
This agrees pretty well with the confes-
sion of his Widow.

She was so stript of all things when
they removed her from the *Louvre* to the
Bastille, that the Wife of *Parsan*, Cap-
tain of that Place, was forced to give a
Lady Mareschal of *France* two Shifts.
The Prince de *Conde* her Enemy, who
was shut up in the same Prison at her sol-
licitation, had compassion on her, when
he heard of the unfortunate condition, to
which this rich and powerful Woman
was reduced. *Galigai*, said *Conde*, is nor
not guilty of the Disorders of the State, the
fault is only to be laid upon the ambition of
her husband. She was afterwards remov'd
from the *Bastille* to the common Gaol of
the Palace. *Alas ! I am undone*, cry'd she
at her going into it. Without being a
Witch, the poor woman might very well
guess that those, who caused her to be
carried to that Prison, where only those
Prisoners are kept, that expect to receive
their Sentence of Condemnation, were

1617. resolved to take away her life, let it cost what it would. 'Tis said, she brought with her but a small bundle of Linnen Cloaths, and about fourscore Crowns. Her Money was taken away from her at the very door of the Prison. An Italian woman who waited on her, and her Apothecary, whom she wanted, because of the ill state of her health, had followed her to the *Bastille*, but were not suffered to attend her in the common Prison. But yet she kept up her constancy and greatness of Soul; and she spoke so well in her own defence, in the presence of her wicked and corrupted Judges, that she acquired a world of honour by it. Every one recalled then to mind the *Mareschal de Biron*, who had been condemn'd in the late Kings Reign, some years before. *Biron*, said some men, *cry'd like a Woman, and Galigai brack'd it like a man.*

Bernard Eti-
toire de
louis XIII.
l. 3.

These are the chiefest heads laid to the charge of the *Mareschal d'Ancre* and the *Lady Mareschal* his Wife. They were accused of having sent for *Montalto* a Jew and Physician to come to France, and having *Judaized* with him, and *Sacrificed* a Cock in a Church at *Paris*, and consulted some Magicians about the health and continuance of the Kings life. Of having kept private Intelligences, contrary to the Wealth and Safety of the Kingdom in the Court of *Madrid*, and that of the Arch-dukes at *Bruxelles*; of

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having cast several great Guns, laid up Arms in divers Arsenals, seized upon places, and stoln the publick Money; Of having changed the Council, and the Officers of the King without any lawfull cause, to put their own Creatures into the places of those who had faithfully served his Majesty; and lastly, of having been guilty of the Murder committed on the person of *Pronville*, Sergeant Mayor of *Amiens*, by an *Italian* Souldier, that afterwards made his escape by *Conchini's* means and procurement. An Historian sets forth, that all these crimes were fully proved. I wish it were so, for the honour of the Parliament of *Paris*, but I will faithfully give you whatever I can find relating to this famous busines. As to the Jew and Physician, and those of the same Religion sent for into *France*, upon which the Prince *de Conde*, had formerly made so much noise in his *Manifesto's*; the depositions of the Witnesses produc'd are the most pitiful that ever were in the world. There you may read such stuff, as does not deserve our mentioning, and much less to be received by judicious and upright Magistrates. All that can be inferred from the Evidence, and the examination of *Galigai* is, that she being fallen very ill, had made use of *Montalto* a Portuguese Jew and Physician; and yet she had been so scrupulously superstitious a

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memorie re-
condire Tom.
iv. p. 70, 71.
72, &c.*

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bout it, as first to beg leave of the Pope for so doing. This *Montalio* was one of the Physicians to the Great Duke of *Tuscany*: And the Queen Mother, who fancied, that there was not an able Physician left in *Paris*, did ask his Holinesses permission to send for *Montalio* to come into *France*, that she might take the Advice and Prescriptions, which he should think fit to give her. This Jew and Physician was so far from being employed in matter of Witchcraft, that *Mary de Medicis* used her endeavours to get him to turn Christian: And *Cardinal du Perron* had some Conferences with him about it. 'Tis very probable, that *Montalio* having discoursed about the *Cabbala* of the *Jews* before some people, they thereupon took occasion to represent him as a Magacian.

How disconsolate soever the Lady *Marischal d'Ancre* was, yet she could not forbear smiling, when her Judges gravely interrogated her about the pretended *Sacrifice of a Cock*, and such like fooleries. This was the ground for those impudent accusations of I know not what *Magical Operations* performed in the Church of the *Austin Friars* at *Paris*, as facts can be gathered from the *Depositions* of three or four *Adams*, called to be *Witnesses* in that case, and the answers made by *Galizzi* in her *Interrogatories*. This *Italian* and superstitious Woman fell into a very languishing con-

Condition, after she had been brought to Bed, and it came into her head that some body had bewitched her. She was so prepossessed with this fancy, that she could not suffer any body to look wistfully on her. She was afraid that if they did, they would bewitch her. Some body reported to the Queen Mother, who was much concerned for the Illness, and the fancies of her Confidant, that the Cardinal *de Lorrain* being sick, had been troubled with the same distemper, and that he had found a great deal of good by the *Exorcisms* that certain Monks of *Milan* had made on him, according to the *Italian* manner. *Mary de Medicis* sent for them to come to *France*, in order to exorcise this Lady *Mareschal*. *Conchini* sometimes accompanied her to the Church of the *Austin Friers*; and there the *Italian* Monks were met with. They performed several *Exorcisms* particularly upon *Galgai*; they said Masses, and practised I know not what superstitious Devotions. This is all the Witchcraft that the Lady *Mareschal* was ever convicted of. Her Judges gravely asked her, whether some *Agens D*ei** sent from *Italy* to the Queen Mother and herself, and which some persons had found when the House of *Conchini* was plundered, were not Spells and Talismans. These Magistrates too plainly discovered their malice. Now this pretended Magick made them

1617.

them ask the Lady Mareschal several questions concerning the death of the late King. They seemed to suppose that she was an accomplice in it with the Queen Mother, and that *Mary de Medicis* and her Confidant had hindered too strict Enquiries to be made into it, for discovering the true Authors of that horrid attempt. *Galigai* fell a crying bitterly, when she perceived that amongst some extravagant questions they put to her, they intermixed others that were very malicious. She made her Judges sensible that hatred and animosity had blinded them so much, that they went beyond the bounds of Honour and Decency. Notwithstanding which never were men seen more harsh, nor more insensible of the misfortune of a Lady, whose innocence was visible to all the world. She represented to them her infirmitiess, which threatened her with an approaching Dropsie. But neither the Prayers nor the Tears of the poor Lady Mareschal, were in the least able to move them. They were resolv'd not to allow her time enough to fall into a Dropsie.

They were never able to make it out that the Mareschal *d' Ancre* and his Lady had kept either in *Spain* or the *Low Countries*, any correspondence to the prejudice of the Weal of the Kingdom. By the Evidence it appeared, that altho. *Conchini* did himself own that he was in-

indebted for all his great fortune to the credit and interest of his Wife with the Queen Mother, yet he did never communicate any State Affairs to *Galigai*; and that *Dole*, Intendant of the Finances, and *Barbin* after *Dole*'s decease, were the only Confidants of the Mareschal *d' Ancre*. Nor were the vast designs, of which his Enemies accused him, any better proved. They interrogated several persons to make them confess, that no Affairs were resolved on in the King's Council, without having first consulted the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, that he had kept the Council from redressing the complaints made to them; that he had disposed of all the Places and Dignities of the Kingdom; that he had raised Foreign Troops, and had provided himself with Ammunition and Cannon; and lastly, that he had taken such measures, as to make himself absolute Master both in *Picardy* and *Normandy*. But after many tedious Informations made by these corrupted and passionate Judges, it appeared only that *Conchini* had designed to defend himself in the Cittadel of *Amiens* against the Duke *de Longueville*, who was resolved to take it from him; and that the Mareschal *d' Ancre*, in order to prevent a surprize from his Enemy, had bought some Arms and Ammuniions, which were sold again to the Duke *de Monbazon*, when he was made Gouvernour of the Cittadel of *Amiens*.

1617. men, after the concluding of the Treaty of London.

Tis true, *Cancini* had lately raised some Foreign Troops in the Bishoprick of *Liege*; but it was by the King's Commission, and for the service of his Majestie. All the fault that could be laid to his Charge upon this occasion, was only, that he proffered them to the King with too much ostentation, and that he promised to maintain them for the space of four months at his own charge. But had any else besides him been guilty of this imprudence, what Commendations, what Rewards would not the Court have bestowed upon him? *Cancini*, according to the depositions of the witnesses interrogated against him, was infinitely less culpable than the other great Lords of *France*. Most of them kept Troops at their own pay, or at least at their own Command; they fortified themselves in their several Governments, with a design to maintain themselves in them, if any attempts should be made to take them from them against their own consent. The *Miréchal d' Amere* was so far from having first kindled, or afterwards kept up the Civil War in *France*, that it was evidently made out by the Tryal against his Memory, that before the Imprisonment of the Prince of *Condé*, he was always of opinion, that they should come to a Treaty with his Highness, and one of

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his greatest applications was, to prevent the House of *Guise* from becoming too powerful. And for this very reason we see that the Dukes *de Guise*, *Mayenne*, *Epernon* and the rest of the Lords joined to him, were the greatest Enemies the *Mareschal d'Ancre* had. He had rather have had the Duke *d'Angouleme*, Brother-in-law to the Prince *de Condé*, set at Liberty out of the *Bastille*, and did what he could to engage the Queen Mother to trust him with the Command of the King's Army, than suffer the Duke of *Guise* to be in too great and too advantagious a Post.

As for Places and Employments, 'tis not to be denied, but that *Conchini* had taken some from those who had declar'd themselves his Enemies, and had preferred his own Friends and Creatures to them. If this be a Capital Crime, all the Favourites, Ministers of State, and those who have any Interest in the Court, must hereafter lose their Heads. 'Tis a very strange grievance indeed, that some persons should have the power to remove or deprive from Employment, by base Intrigues, and often by baseless Calumnies, those who serve, or might serve faithfully their Country. But how can it be helped? The Prince ought always to be upon his Guard, to take every thing into his own Examination, and to punish himself those who endeavour to

1617. to surprize him. When Galigai was interrogated upon this head, it seems she silenced her Judges. *I have sought occasions to oblige many Persons*, said she, *and I have got no benefit at all by it. If I have received some Presents upon certain occasions, the Queen Mother had first given me leave to accept of them. And though you could convict me of having received Money from those whom I have served with my Interest, would that be legal and a sufficient reason to condemn me? Do all the Ladies of the Court give their solicitations for nothing? I have remitted some Money to Rome and to Florence: Is that a Crime against the Law. I bought of the Duke de Guise for two hundred thousand Crowns, the Effects which the Cardinal de Joicuse had left at Rome? Can any Body blame me for that?*

Vittorio Siri
memorie re-
condite. Tom.
iv. p. 92.

The accusation concerning the death of Pronville, who had been murdered in the City of Amiens, was perhaps the most specious and plausible of all. The Dukes de Longueville, and the Prince of Conde had made a great noise about it all over France. It was mentioned in the Manifesto's and Declarations of the discontented Party. The Advocate General Servin, said they, confessed one day to his Friende, that the Evidence against the Lady Mareschal *d' Ancre*, was frivolous and ridiculous. Her Judges, added this Magistrate, condemned

ed her upon one of her Letters directed to her Husband, wherein she advised him to be revenged on Prouville; and that this man happening to be murdered some time after, this Letter was a proof that Galigai had had a hand in that abominable action. But in what Tribunal in the world are men condemned to death upon the like evidence? To advise a man to revenge himself of the wrong another has done him, is this to advise him to murder his Enemy? Is there no other Revenge to be taken upon men but by assassinating them? 'Tis true, the whole City of *Amiens* did believe that the *Mareschal d' Ancre* was the contriver of the murder committed upon *Prouville*. But besides the Jealousie of the Inhabitants of *Amiens*, who were incensed against *Conchini*, because he had used them too ruggedly, and in too imperious a manner, and had grievously threatened them; I say, besides that all this was not a sufficient proof, it appears by the Depositions of those who were examined upon this Murder of *Prouville*, that the *Mareschal d' Ancre* had not given any command for his Murder. He ordered only that *Prouville* should be punish'd by some affront and ill treatment, for the injury *Conchini* thought he had received from him. The *Mareschal d' Ancre* took it very ill that they had favoured the Murderers escape. But, in short, let us suppose that he ought to be justly charged with the

1617. the Murder committed on the Person of *Provost*. Was this a sufficient reason to blot his Memory, and render it infamous, to degrade the Son of a Marshal of *France* from his title of being Noble; to condemn his Widow to die upon a Scaffold; to order her Body to be burnt afterwards, and her ashes thrown away, to be a sport for the Wind? The Advocate General *Servin* was ashamed, that the Parliament of *Paris*, who condemns no body to dye upon accusations of Witchcraft, and looks upon it justly as foolish and extravagant, should condemn a Lady Marshal of *France* for a Witch. *Servin* used his best endeavours to preserve the honour of an Assembly, whereof he was himself a Member: and all that he alledged to that purpose proved still more fully the corruption and wickedness of the Magistrates. If the Parliament of *Paris* had not condemned *Galigni* upon the accusations of Witchcraft, wherewith she was charged, they ought not to have ordered her Corps to be burnt, after her Head had been cut off.

*The Lady
Marshal d'
Ancre is con-
demn'd to dye.*
*Memoires de
Rohan. t. i.
Lumieres
pour l'Hi-
stoire de
France.*

Launes, says the *Duke de Rohan* very wisely, caused the *Lady Marshal d' Ancre* to be condemned to dye, that so he might reap the benefit, by the Spoils of both the Husband and the Wife. There were so many illegal solicitations, and such a world of extraordinary practices made use of, to bring her to lose her Head upon the

the Scaffold, when at the day of Execution, the People of Paris changed their hatred against her into pity. It was whispered in the ears of the Judges as from the King, that he did not think his life in safety, unless *Galigai* dyed. Also, *Luis* ought to be reckoned as the most abominable Calumniator that ever was. With what colours had he painted out that unfortunate Woman, to perhade King *Lewis* to believe, that his own life was not safe, until *Galigai* was dead? If the King had not these bad impressions, then the Covetousness, Impostures and base Artifices of *Luis* have been the cause of the death of the Maréchal d' *Ancre* and his Wife. Were these the first steps that this man made to raise himself by, to the Dignity of High-Constable of France? Let us here give *Deslandes* (one of the Judges, who summoned up the case) his due; he could never be prevail'd with, to deliver his opinion for the death of a Lady, whom he knew to be innocent. *Couzin* (the other Judge, who also did the like) a venomous and base Magistrate, had not the same integrity. He made no scruple to buy with a most shameful and crying injustice, the Ambassy of *Venice* for his Son, which had been refused him a little while before. Some of the Judges thought it was sufficient to condemn *Galigai* to Banishment and a Fine. But the sollicitations and intreagues of *Luis*

Vittorio Siri,
Memoire se-
condire.
Tom. iv. Pag.

89, 90.

Gramond.
Historiarum
Galia. L 11.

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ines prevailed upon the major number. For besides by that means he was to have the Forfeiture, he also was very desirous, and pleased to have the Mareschal *d'Ancre* and his Wife declared Impious and Sorcerers. This served him to confirm the King in his aversion against his Mother *Mary de Medicis*, and in the design of never recalling her again to him, whose most intimate Confidants had been convicted of Witchcraft, Judaism, and most abominable Impieties. 'Tis reported, that *Galigai* seeing she was condemned, said she was big with Child. This poor unhappy Woman would fain have thereby gain'd some time, in hopes that the fury of her Enemies might be abated; and that the Queen her Mistress might have perhaps obtained something in favour of a person whom she had loved from her infancy. *You forget your self, Madam,* said some of the Judges to the Lady Mareschal, *you have declared that your Husband has not lain with you these two years. What will the world think on you then, if it be true, that you are with Child?* *Galigai* thereupon recovered herself, and without desiring the search of the Mid-wifes, she ingenuously confessed, that the desire of prolonging her Life, had forced that falsehood from her, without having reflected upon what she laid before to her Judges.

Bernard. Hi-
stoire de
Louis XIII.

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The Sentence of the Parliament was pronounced and executed the 8th of *Febr*ry. Never had been seen such a throng of people at the place of execution, called *la Greve*. The Lady Mareschal *d' Ancre* drank the Cup with all its bitterness: they spared her nothing of the infamy of the punishment. She was carried in a Cart like the greatest Malefactress in the world. Her Constancy was so great and Christian-like, that her most inveterate enemies admired her. Gramond. Historiarum Galliae. I. 11. When she was on the Scaffold, she most solemnly protested that she died innocent of the Crimes her Judges had condemned her for. 1617. Bernard. Histoire de Louis XIII. The people were mov-^{13.}ed when they heard her giving thanks to God with great fervour of zeal and humility, for that his Providence had deprived her of all the Grandeur of this world, whereof she had not made a good use; and that he had granted her the grace to suffer a death more glorious, and more conformable to that of *Jesus Christ*, than such a sinner as she was, had deserved. She omitted no practice of Devotion ordinary to those of her Religion. All the Spectators were moved by her Piety and her Resignation to the Will of God: And those furious *Parisians*, who had treated the Corps of the Mareschal *d' Ancre* with so much barbarity and inhumanity, could not forbear shedding tears at the death of his Widow. They forgot the imprecations

1617. aions wherewith they had charged but two months before both the Wife and the Husband. 'Tis said, that the Lady Mareschal having perceived at the place of la Greve, some body belonging to the Family of the Chancellor *de Silleri*, call'd him, and desired him to tell the Chancellor from her, that she begged his pardon for the bad Offices she had done him to the Queen Mother. If this be true, that action was worthy of a Lady, who dyes with Christian Sentiments. But was it not also a Report, that the Chancellor and the Commander *de Silleri* his Brother-in-Law had purposely spread abroad? These Gentlemen were contriving how to cover the shame of their last disgrace. The world seemed to be well enough perswaded that *Mary de Medicis* had good reason to punish the infidelity of the Chancellor, by taking the Seals away from him. The Commander *de Silleri* had been extraordinarily sent to *Madrid*, at the solicitation of the Mareschal *d' Aunc*, who fancied that *Villeroy* did underhand oppose the concluding of the double Match: the Commander, in concert with the Chancellor his Brother, carried on an Intreague to deprive the Queen Mother of all her Authority, in making the Duke of *Lerma*, and the other Ministers of the King of Spain believe, that the Interest of the young Queen would rise, as soon as that of *Mary de Medicis* should

should sink. Whatsoever might be the circumstance of the death of the Lady Mareschal *d' Ancre*, the Scruples and Remorses of a dying Woman, and in a condition wherein every one condemns themselves for the least criminal actions they ever have performed, cannot justify the Chancellor *de Silleri*. Honesty and Integrity were never his favourite Virtues.

Thus *Leonora Galigai* ended her life by the hands of the Executioner. Her Corps was burnt, and her ashes scatter'd in the air. She was not descended of so honourable a Family as *Conchini* her Husband. There was a Family of the *Galigai's* that was formerly considerable in *Florence*. But 'tis reported that the Lady Mareschal *d' Ancre*'s Father was named *Dosi*, and that he descended not from that Family. Having got an Estate, he made an Interest to be declared an Issue of that antient Family of the *Galigai's*, and to have a right to bear the Name and the Arms thereof, tho' he was really of a very mean Original. *Galigai*, without any distinction either of Birth, Beauty or Wit, got the place of Jewel-keeper to *Mary de Medicis*, when she was still Princess of *Florence*. That Woman had the Address to insinuate herself so far into the Breast of *Mary de Medicis*, that she always turn'd her as she pleased. Her Arrogance and Covetousness made her hated in the Court of

Vittorio siri,
Memorie re-
condite.
Tom. 4. P.

93, 94, &c.

France. *Conchini* himself complained of the high and imperious carriage of his Wife ; and *Galigai* on her side accused her Husband of Pride and Presumption. Notwithstanding the *Mareschal d'Ancre* seemed to have a great Consideration and Regard for a person, to whom he was wholly indebted for his great fortune and high advancements, he was obliged to behave himself thus to her. As soon as he was fallen out with her (which happened pretty often) the Queen Mother looked upon him with an evil eye, and threatened him with her displeasure. I do not know but there might have been upon certain occasions some collusion between the Husband and the Wife. They seemed to live in an open misunderstanding. *Conchini* joyned himself to the Interest of the *Prince de Conde*, and *Galigai* still continued faithful, and was the intimate Confident of *Mary de Medicis*. Their only Son was a while shut up in the Castle of *Nants*, but at last he was set at liberty. The young *Conchini* retired into his own Countrey, and died at *Florence* in the year 1631. Tis said, that he still enjoy'd there fourteen thousand Crowns a year. His Father and Mother had there redeemed their Estates, which before was mightily incumbered. The *Mareschal d'Ancre* pretended that his Patrimony was worth a hundred thousand Crowns. The Family of the *Conchini's*

chini's was not then so contemptible. It was extinct by the death of that young man, who was much esteemed for his good qualities.

Laines presently obtained what he so earnestly desired. The King gave him the forfeiture of all that the Mareschal *d' Ancre* and his Wife possessed, both in France and Italy. By a new Chancery of Law, the Parliament of Paris declared that all the Estates belonging to *Conchini* and his Wife out of the Kingdom, were confiscated to the King, as being purchased with the Money that had been taken out of the Kings Treasury. *Du Vair* Keeper of the Seals at first opposed the grant that the King had made to his Favourite of the Fiefs purchased in France by the Mareschal *d' Ancre*. This Magistrate maintained that according to Law, they ought to be re-united to the Kings Demesne, and consequently were unalienable. The refusal that *Du Vair* made for some time to Seal the Letters Patents which *Laines* had obtained, seem'd worthy of the probity of a Keeper of the Seals, and every body esteemed him the more for it. Happy man, had he been firm to his principle. But *Du Vair* suffered himself to be tempted by the rich Bishoprick of *Lisieux*, which the Favourite presented him with. Those who had but lately commended *Du Vair* for his Integrity, then publickly jeered at

*The base
compliance of
the Keeper of
the Seals for
Laines.*

Gramond.
Historiarum
Galliae L. 11.
1617.

1617. and scorned him. *He is a man as well as others*, said the Wits in Raillery. *The virtue of this new Cato is not able to resist the temptation of a Benefice of forty or fifty thousand Livers per Ann.* This base and interessed compliance quite blasted the Reputation, which the Keeper of the Seals had got. He had sustained his former disgrace with a greatness of Soul, that was very extraordinary. Contented with passing the remainder of his life in a private retirement, he made a scruple to take again the Seals, and to expose himself to the storms of the Court. The reward which made him fall under his austere Virtue, suited him by no means. A Magistrate possessed with the severe Maxims of the Parliaments of France, which continually insist upon the exact observation of the ancient Canons, and highly blame the abusive Dispensations of the Pope, should he at the latter end of his Life have accepted of a Bishoprick, the Revenue of which he only enjoyed, without performing any Episcopal function?

*The Death of
the President
de Thou.*

The Illustrious and Incomparable President *de Thou*, had not the displeasure to see the unjust Sentence of the Parliament of *Paris*, where he held so considerable a Post, by his Dignity, the Nobleness of his Family, and his own great and extraordinary qualifications. He departed this life the 7th day of *May*, he died of a long and violent Cholick, which had caused

1617.

a Gangrene in his Bowels. This place of great Master of the King's Library was continued to his Son. *M. de Thou* committed the care of his own to the Learned *M. du Puy*. 'Tis a great loss to posterity that it has not been kept entire, and that they have taken away the Manuscripts, and part of the most curious Books thereto. He had put a clause into his Will, to prevent the dismembering of that Library, which had been composed with so great care, charges and application; but the precautions of *Mr. de Thou* have been ineffectual. The noble History he has written of all the most remarkable Occurrences in the world, since the death of *Francis I.* till the latter years of the Reign of *Henry IV.* will be an eternal Monument of the profound Learning, Probability, and Integrity of that Great Man, who ought to be looked upon as the last of the good and true Historians of that Nation.

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